NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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The National Municipal Review

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NEWS for League Members

Conference Attendance Tops 1000

An all-time high in attendance at the League's National Conference on Government was established last month when more than 1,000 persons turned out for the 58th annual Conference, held in San Antonio.

Many of the sessions were filled to overflowing as leaders of civic groups, public officials, political scientists, businessmen and lawyers converged on the historic city of the Alamo.

About 225 experts led the 30 panel discussions during the three-day meeting. The conference had an international flavor, as public officials and governmental experts from Thailand, Finland, Germany, Mexico, Canada and the Philippines participated.

Following are highlights of some of the principal speeches:

Charles Edison, former governor of New Jersey and chairman of the League's Council, proposed to President-elect Eisenhower that the latter set up a commission to study ways and means of strengthening our states and cities so that they can carry a greater share of the business of American government. (Turn to page 540 for full text.)

Thomas H. Reed, noted municipal consultant, called on civic groups to be vigilant in order to preserve the gains they have helped achieve. He particularly urged San Antonians to stand behind their new council-manager government, now being subjected to attack. (See page 554.)

Thomas R. Reid, director of civic affairs for the Ford Motor Company, urged America's business leaders to get into politics and stay. He noted an encouraging trend toward greater civic consciousness. (See page 546.)

Former Governor Charles Edison

Henry Bruère, president of the League, called for unconditional hostility toward the forces of corruption and inefficiency in our cities.

Lester Velie, political writer for *Reader's Digest* and *Saturday Evening Post*, said that "secret bosses" with more power than the governor are controlling the legislatures in several states.

George H. Gallup, pioneer public opinion pollster, said the challenge of democracy is to find a way to make use of the best brains and energies of the people.

A. Cecil Snyder, acting chief justice of the Supreme Court of Puerto Rico, reported on the modern, new commonwealth constitution which provides more self-government, a locally elected governor and a streamlined judicial system.

Scene at the annual dinner of the Conference, held in the Gunter Hotel in San Antonio and attend by 361 people. Note the banner on wall at left, placed there by the delegation from that city.

Twenty-two Cities Vie for All-America Honor

Competition was unusually keen this year for the All-America Cities Awards.

Of the 22 cities invited to present their cases out of the more than 80 applications screened by the League's Eligibility Committee, 20 were represented in person before the jury at the National Conference on Government. The other two cases were submitted in writing.

The winning cities will be announced in the February 10 issue of *Look* magazine, on newsstands about January 27. The magazine is co-sponsoring the awards this year.

Following are the cities whose stories of civic progress were told at Sa Antonio: Richmond, Virginia; Worce ter, Massachusetts; Houston, Texa Daytona Beach, Florida; Bemidj Minnesota; Roanoke, Virginia; Pa tucket, Rhode Island; Torrance, Cal fornia; Woonsocket, Rhode Islan Miami-Dade County, Florida; Minn apolis, Minnesota; Kansas City, Mi souri; Owensboro, Kentucky; Ne burgh, New York; San Antonio, Texa Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania; Baltimor Maryland; Setauket, New York; Ma hattan, Kansas; Compton, Californi Brookfield, Illinois; Columbia, Sou Carolina.

Here's the All-America Cities Award jury in action at San Antonio. Left to right, seated, front ro are Charles Edison, Dr. Minnie L. Maffett, Mrs. Hiram Houghton, Vernon C. Myers, Harold S. Butte heim, Dayton D. McKean; rear row, left to right, Arthur W. Bromage, Mark S. Matthews, Forem George H. Gallup, Henry Bruère, Richard S. Childs, Allen D. Manvel. Standing at left, stating t case for Brookfield, Illinois, is City Manager C. Harold Eash.

anfred J. Gerhardt, a
of the San Antonio City
with Henry Bruère,
t of the League, on the
platform during the
luncheon at which Mrs.
presided.

In recognition of 30 years of faithful service as treasurer of the National Municipal League, Richard S. Childs, right, chairman of the League's Executive Committee, presents a hand-lettered and illuminated testimonial to Carl H. Pforzheimer on behalf of the League as a surprise feature of the party and reception at which Mr. Pforzheimer was host.

visitors to the Confer-
ere Willy Kressmann,
ayor of Kreuzberg, a
of Berlin, and Peter W.
, right, executive secre-
ate Association of Citi-
ncils of Baden-Wurttem-
With them is John E.
assistant secretary of
ional Municipal League.

Thomas H. Reed, noted municipal consultant, being greeted by Edward G. Conroy of the host city arrangements committee, and Mrs. Conroy, at the Fandango Party at La Villita.

Former Governor Charles Edison of New and John Venable, executive assistant to M son at Thomas A. Edison, Inc., West C New Jersey, moving along the receptio at the party.

'LaVillita' Charms Visitors

Those who attended the 58th annual National Conference on Government in San Antonio will not soon forget the warm hospitality of the people of that city. One of the most vivid memories will be that of the Fandango Party sponsored by the local Chamber of Commerce.

The party was held at historic La Villita, a restored Spanish community in the heart of the city, the evening prior to the opening of the Conference. Members of the reception committee, the men sporting ten-gallon hats and the women brightly colored costumes, greeted each of the scores of out-of-towners who attended. Then followed delicious spread of food served fro huge tables by members of the suppe committee, and a fast-moving ten-a "International Revue" featuring Spanis and Mexican songs and dances.

A highlight of the party was th presentation of ten-gallon hats by th people of San Antonio to Henry Bruèr president of the League, and Charl Edison, chairman of the League Counci

Many of the early arrivals in Sa Antonio took advantage of the sigh seeing tour of the city which was co ducted during the afternoon prior the party.

Texas-style hospitality was never more in evidence than during the party at La Villita sponsored by the San Antonio Chamber of Commerce. Here Conference-goers help themselves to the enormous spread of food placed before them.

Visitors from Thailand and the Philippine get together over some Texas beer at th dango Party. Left to right are Greg Ejercito, Philippines; Choke R. Chamtava land; Kasem Udyanin, Thailand; and Ra Portugal, Philippines.

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Editorial Comment

'Democracy' at Work

DETROIT has for years furnished this magazine with some of its best evidence of the vagaries of American "democratics" — that field of political science which is confused by popular participation. The evidence has reflected the perceptiveness of alert and unusually articulate local civic observers dealing with some highly aggravated situations.

Here comes another item, condensed from the *Civic Searchlight* of the Detroit Citizens League.

Detroit elects two constables from each of 22 wards. These humble officers are process servers who do nothing nowadays that is not done also by other more capable agents. As far back as 1936 a judge who knew them testified, "The constable is by common consent an undesirable relic of another age." A charter study committee in 1949 recommended to common council that the office be abolished by charter amendment but no action followed — the constables had political friends no doubt. "What? Take away from the people the right to select their own constables?" Can't you hear them?

So a year ago the people went to the polls as usual and a new lot of 44 constables were voted in for two years. How completely below the horizon of public visibility these petty posts are and have always been was disclosed in a precinct to which the wrong ballots were delivered, containing the names of candidates running for constable in a distant ward. None of the 203 voters in that precinct seemed aware of the difference and the error was not discovered until after the polls closed!

Detroit has changed the terms of its other municipal officers from two years to four, which left the constables with their two-year terms as the sole reason for having any election at all in the middle years. It now became urgent to abolish these obsolete offices to avert the otherwise needless expenditure of $93,000 for such an election in 1953 and thereafter.

So what happened? Instead of abolishing them, the voters passed a referendum this November which extends their terms to four years.

A brighter episode for Detroit occurred the same day; the voters of the state adopted a "balanced legislature" reapportionment amendment which, when implemented by legislation, is expected to trim Detroit's "bed sheet ballot" wherein voters have struggled with the instruction "vote for 21" for the county's delegation to the lower house.

Naturally the imposition of this task on the voters led to some weird results. In 1944 only 75 per cent of those voting voted for a full set of 21 candidates; they followed the party labels with no more than 3 per cent variation from the average.

At the preceding primary of the dominant party, whose label for these offices is equivalent to election in Detroit, Donald S. Hecock, of Wayne University, found that 30 per cent of the eligible party members turned out and faced a very long list of aspirants with no guiding label. So

15.6 per cent marked no choices at all, 9.3 per cent voted for one and only 22.8 per cent marked 21. In a check of 383 of the last group 50 were found who voted as follows: 13 voted for 21 names consecutively or for every other name, seven voted only for Irish names, five only for Polish names and 25 followed Citizen League or CIO-PAC ready-made lists.[1]

By constitutional initiative adopted November 4, Wayne County will get a still larger delegation to the lower house but the members are to be elected from two- or three-member districts and Detroit voters will deal with a ballot of about twenty offices instead of 39.

And Then There Were Nine

ON November 4 three cities in Rhode Island — Pawtucket, Woonsocket and Central Falls — voted into oblivion their ancient two-chamber municipal councils. The list of such survivals of obsolete thinking now dwindles to nine and the race for the museum-piece position of last in the procession of progress is now between Augusta and Waterville, Maine; Everett, Malden, Northampton and Springfield, Massachusetts; Danbury, Connecticut; New York and Atlanta.

The idea of having two houses in meaningless imitation of the national government started in Philadelphia in 1796; it existed for varying periods in many cities thereafter, but never in a majority and had nearly disappeared by 1900.

We hope for opportunities to write further obituaries!

Stronger Foundations

IN some ways the most precious feature of the American constitution is the division of responsibility and system of relationships among the several governments — federal, state and local. States' rights versus federal power has been debated throughout our history, but for almost a hundred years there has been no major systematic effort to re-evaluate the functions and responsibilities of the various elements of the system in the light of the vast changes that have occurred in the country and the world.

It is such a re-evaluation that Charles Edison called for in his speech at the annual dinner at the National Conference on Government in San Antonio.[2] The citizen activity at the community level, which has grown steadily in magnitude and intensity since the war, is evidence that there is solid basis for belief that now is the time to strengthen states and municipalities so that they can carry a greater share of the business of American government. A national commission on the federal system, carefully selected, adequately staffed and armed with a generous mandate, could become a landmark in the history of free government.

[1] *Civic Victories*, by Richard S. Childs. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1952.

[2] See page 540, this issue.

Action on Home Rule Urged

Edison calls on President-elect Eisenhower to take lead in national move to strengthen our states and cities.

By CHARLES EDISON*

THE things we have in common as Americans are much more vital than the things that distinguish us as Texans and New Yorkers and Californians. I might have hesitated to say that out loud as I arrived here a couple of days ago, but your hospitality has made me bold. Now I know that the main difference between you Texans and the rest of us is simply that you are more so. Your city and your state remind me of a phrase that was going the rounds a few years ago, "accentuate the positive," a dynamic phrase that is typically American, and even more typically Texan.

By the same token, the things we agree about as citizens are vastly more important than the things we disagree about as political partisans. That is easier to say today than it would have been in the heat of the last days of the campaign just three weeks ago. But none of us really doubted it then, no matter how sharp the verbal brickbats that were flying around. A reading of many speeches on opposite sides in the campaign shows both sides standing firmly for many of the same things, especially the fundamental things.

Woodrow Wilson once remarked that he would not wish to consort with anyone who really wanted to change anything fundamental in our system. It is the fact that the vast majority of our people feel the same way that makes our political campaigns so puzzling to our neighbors overseas. This fact accounts for some of the shrillness that gets into campaign oratory. If you really don't disagree with your opponent violently you are tempted to make it sound as if you did by making excessively loud noises.

One of the fundamentals on which we all agree is the maintenance of the federal system. Although the precedents for federalism go back to the ancient world, our own system is truly an American invention. Never before had a group of states formed a federal government with enough direct authority over and responsibility to the people to survive all stresses and strains, even internal conflict, at the same time that the states themselves retained complete control over matters most intimately affecting the happiness and well-being of their people.

Like many other American inventions that one has proved amazingly good in practice and adaptable to changing needs and conditions. The time has come, however, for a comprehensive review of federalism in action and a hard-headed examina-

*Mr. Edison, chairman of the Council of the National Municipal League and chairman of the Board of Thomas A. Edison, Inc., was governor of New Jersey from 1941 to 1944 and assistant secretary of the Navy under President Franklin D. Roosevelt. This article is Mr. Edison's address before the National Conference on Government at San Antonio, November 18.

tion of what ought to be done to insure its continued serviceability in the crucial years ahead of us.

The recent campaign has created an exceptionally favorable climate for such an effort. Both candidates for president have repeatedly stressed the importance of strengthening the state and local elements in our system so as to enable them to bear a larger share of the burdens and responsibilities of modern government.

During the campaign Adlai Stevenson said: "The states are important. . . . But that tidal drift toward the Capital will go on and on unless those necessary functions of government which don't have to be performed in Washington are performed, and properly performed, at the state and local level."

General Eisenhower expressed his views in these words: "The Republican party wants to strengthen government on the state and local level —close to the people."

I trust it will not be taken as a partisan statement if I observe that the pattern of voting in the last election is another indication that this is the time to reinspect and to strengthen the foundations of our federal system. The very size of the popular vote, in welcome contrast to the poor showings in past elections, is evidence of renewed popular interest in our public affairs and a wider assumption of citizen responsibility.

If anyone had predicted 50 years ago that Texas and certain other southern states would in 1952 be voting for a Republican candidate for president partly on a states' rights platform, people would have said he was crazy. The fact is that both parties have at last become national parties and both are in a fundamental sense states' rights parties. The nearer we come to having a real national two-party system, with both parties sincerely devoted to the foundations of the Republic, the better able will we be to preserve and where necessary to strengthen and extend those foundations to withstand new stresses and bear new burdens.

Hoover Commission Studies States

Fortunately, a start has recently been made toward laying out a plan for a systematic national effort to strengthen the state and local elements in our system. I had the honor of serving as a member of the task force on federal-state relations of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, better known as the Hoover Commission. For reasons that it is not necessary to go into here the recommendations of this task force were not incorporated in the Hoover Committee's final report. One difficulty, I might point out, was the doubt expressed by some members of the Hoover Commission itself that the mission of the task force was properly within the mandate of the Hoover Commission.

Nevertheless, this bi-partisan task force, composed of a number of able and experienced men under the chairmanship of Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, did some spade work on a problem even more important than that of reorganizing the federal administration itself. We were assisted in our work by two very able studies: one prepared under the direction of Frank Bane, executive director of

the Council of State Governments; the other, on legal aspects of the problem, prepared by Stanford Schewell of the law firm of John W. Davis.

In our report we stated that in any study of the balance of power between the national government and the state and local governments "two major questions are cast in bold relief:

"(1) How can the United States maintain and strengthen the American type of democracy—a democracy based upon individual liberty, extensive participation in government and control of the government by the people?

"(2) And, at the same time, how can government, the servant of the people, provide and finance the necessary services that the people increasingly demand and which tend to better the American standard of living?"

Government vs. Liberty

You will notice that in asking the second question we accepted the inevitability of active government, government engaged in providing an increasing number of services and acting in a variety of ways to meet popular demands and maintain or elevate the "American standard of living." The real question then is: How can active government be kept under control, mindful of the paramount importance of individual liberty and responsive to participating citizens?

We agreed 100 per cent with the statement in Frank Bane's report that "federalism is the most hopeful means of achieving responsive government" because "it is in the towns, counties, cities and states that the best hope lies for bringing the people to a sensitive understanding of their authority and responsibility in a modern democracy."

One of the things that most impressed me in the work done by and for this task force was the way in which it stuck to the advice to "accentuate the positive." We didn't waste much time in vain regrets over so-called federal encroachments on the states. We recognized that, as Jefferson once remarked, power is inherently of an encroaching nature. It seemed evident to us that today just as in Jefferson's day "it is important to strengthen the state governments." It seemed equally evident that the best barrier against federal encroachments on areas that might better be handled by state and local authorities is, in Jefferson's words, "a wise government" on the part of the states, for "a weak one will lose ground in every contest."

I personally arrived at this conclusion long ago when I was a member of the Washington bureaucracy. That was why I went back home and ran for governor of New Jersey. That was why, as governor, I started a job of political slum clearance to raise the moral level of government in the state, as well as a campaign to modernize our ancient century-old state constitution. That constitution had long been recognized by all competent observers as a serious, almost insurmountable barrier to efficient, economical and responsible government. In short, we tried to achieve the kind of government that could hold its own in a contest with Washington for popular respect and

the power to govern. I think you all know that ultimately we got a new and much improved constitution.

I am glad to acknowledge that this achievement was a bi-partisan one. If my two Republican successors as governor and thousands of citizens from all walks of life had not joined up and made it a crusade for all the people of the state, a new constitution would not have been achieved.

I was delighted, therefore, when the Council of State Governments, in the report to the task force on federal-state relations, quoted the governor of another state as follows: "It is one thing to talk about states' rights, but the way to have them is for the states to get in and do their own jobs."

A Plan for States

Remember, the Council of State Governments is an official, voluntarily supported, research and staff agency representing the state governments themselves. It is a very good sign when such an agency is able to recommend a program not for petitioning Washington for more power, more money or a redress of grievances but rather for correcting deficiencies in the organization and conduct of the states themselves. The report continues, "If our system of federalism is to be maintained, states must equip themselves and order their facilities to accept and exercise their responsibilities as well as to proclaim their rights.

"State governments increasingly must be capable and efficient or the national government increasingly will accept the responsibility of providing more and more services for the American people."

What this means was then outlined briefly in the following seven point platform:

"1. The states should revise and modernize their constitutions.

"2. The states should extend home rule powers to their political subdivisions.

"3. The states should revise and reorganize their tax systems to reduce inequitable and overlapping taxes and to improve tax administration.

"4. The states should revise and modernize their legislative processes and procedures.

"5. The states should continue to improve the quality of public administration by reorganizing their administrative branches.

"6. The states should maintain and adequately support planning and resources agencies through which scientific and technical skill can be mobilized and used for the best interests of the people.

"7. The states should make increasing use of interstate compacts and agreements for the solution of common problems."

To a member of the National Municipal League those planks strike a very responsive chord because through our *Model State Constitution* and in other studies and reports the League began advocating just this kind of program long before the Council of State Governments came into being.

In the light of my own experience and the program of the National Municipal League I would like to add three other planks to this platform, all of which I am sure would be perfectly acceptable to the Coun-

cil of State Governments as to all forward-looking citizens:

1. The states should modernize their court systems because there is nothing so destructive of democratic morale as halting, expensive, uncertain administration of justice that was suffered by the good people of New Jersey for many years prior to the inauguration of our new integrated court system in 1948.

2. The states should review their election laws and procedures so as to eliminate barriers to effective citizen participation in the control of political parties, the making of nominations and the election of public officials.

3. The states should not only extend home rule power to municipalities and counties but also review the existing largely accidental patchwork of local areas so that local governments generally may be truly capable of exercising the home rule powers that may be granted.

Here is a platform for state action which is comprehensive and challenging. It does not represent all that is involved in making federalism work to the best advantage in the middle of the twentieth century. There are things that need to be done at the national level, such as (1) reviewing and simplifying the grant-in-aid system, (2) showing more respect in dealings with the states for their respective institutions, traditions and customs, (3) turning back to the states revenue sources that are well adapted to state and local use. I cannot emphasize this third point too strongly. If the federal government preempts more and more sources of tax revenue, our states and our cities will be made less and less able to perform their functions of government.

There is also need for an objective reexamination of the reasons for the present allocation of responsibility for various functions between the federal and state governments and between the states and their subdivisions. The extension of federal activities has been largely a haphazard response to citizen needs and pressures. Some of this extension is directly attributable to obvious failure on the part of the states themselves to respond promptly and effectively to new needs. A review of the expansion of federal programs would throw light on weaknesses at the state line and furnish a further incentive for remedial action on the part of the states themselves.

Alternative to Centralization

Providing an alternative to more centralization in Washington is not the only reason for strengthening state and local governments and making them more responsible. As the National Municipal League has repeatedly pointed out, state and local government is big business. It accounts for more than two-thirds of all public expenditure not occasioned by wars, foreign policy and national defense. Nearly two-thirds of all civilian public employees are engaged in state and local government.

Of the more than half a million elected officials in the United States, only 533 are in the federal government. The clamor and the glamor of national elections to the contrary notwithstanding, politics in this country is mostly state and local politics, regulated by state laws and

traditions, motivated by state and local interests and objectives.

The revelations of the Kefauver Committee and of other investigating bodies have shown that standards of governmental and political ethics are set primarily in the home town and precinct. The aspiring politician climbs up the political ladder, not down. If we have unsavory characters in Washington it is because we train them at home and send them there.

Consequently anyone who wants to conserve tax dollars or raise the quality of public services or improve the ethical climate in Washington, must begin with his local and state governments and his local political organizations. The welfare and security of the nation and its position in the world depend absolutely upon the health of the local elements in the system. That is at once the strength and the price of federalism, especially in this age when, more and more, federal policies and programs depend on state and local cooperation to carry them out. That also is one of the things that distinguish our system from Russian communism, for the essence of communism is not cooperation but coercion.

Federal Inquiry Suggested

While a major objective of the program of improvement here proposed is to encourage each state to put its own house in the best possible order, the program is of the utmost concern to the nation as a whole. Its success is dependent on simultaneous action in Washington and in all the states. Such concerted action by so many can hardly be achieved without the stimulus and guidance of a certain amount of organized cooperation on a national scale.

I therefore have a proposal to make which I direct with great respect to the next president of the United States.

I propose that President-elect Eisenhower institute a major national inquiry into ways and means of strengthening the states and municipalities so that they can carry a greater share of the business of American government.

I propose that he appoint a commission on the federal system similar in prestige and resources to the recent Hoover Commission. The work of the commission might well include a White House conference on a variety of subjects going back to the early part of the century.

It would, in a sense, be a mid-century equivalent to the famous Annapolis convention which preceded and led to the calling of the constitutional convention of 1787. I hasten to add that this effort would not involve another national constitutional convention. It would, I trust, lead to a number of state constitutional conventions and to numerous other acts on the part of federal, state and local governments and of citizens organized and unorganized to demonstrate that we today have as much talent for governing ourselves and for shaping our destiny as had our forefathers who founded the Republic.

Businessmen and Government

Industry, increasingly aware of its stake in good government, is encouraging participation, progress.

By THOMAS R. REID*

ON November 4 we Americans wound up a glorious political binge that began in earnest way back in July. It was fun while it lasted. It was interesting and exciting, and it gave a real lift to our national spirit.

But now that the tumult and the shouting have died away, we're in the midst of the inevitable hangover. If we can go by past experience, a great many of our fellow citizens have already made up their minds to stay away from the stuff—at least for the next four years. It's a reaction that develops after every national election—and it's one of the truly unfortunate aspects of American government.

At least that's been the pattern in the past. Will it continue that way? Are we forever to be a nation of sometime citizens who need banners and speeches and giant campaigns to work up an interest in good government?

Personally, I think there's a change in the making—nothing so obvious that it can be measured precisely, but a very definite shift in the thinking and attitude of a great many people toward their government. It seems to me that more people are learning to take politics as it should be taken—in big doses once in a while but at a steady, moderate, unremitting pace all the rest of the time.

More and more of us have come to realize that good government is not achieved on election day, but through constant, day-to-day effort on our part and on the part of our neighbors. We are increasingly aware that our vote, important as it is, is not really effective unless it is backed up by an active, continuing interest in what happens as a result of that vote.

To me, this apparent shift in attitude, however small it might seem right now, is one of the most encouraging signs of our times. To the National Municipal League and similar organizations, which have worked so diligently to promote greater civic interest, it must also be a rewarding trend. It indicates that people do not remain indifferent or apathetic toward government when they begin to understand their own direct, personal stake in its day-to-day operation at all levels.

Our job, as I see it, is to increase this understanding and to mark out still more clearly the need and the many opportunities for greater private participation in the affairs of government.

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Although my theme is the businessman's stake in good government, I start from the premise that government—or politics—is *everybody's* business. It's no secret to any of us, unfortunately, that the terms "politics" and "political activity" are still in disrepute. There is still a widespread tendency to shrug or to think immediately of something sordid and somehow shameful when those words are mentioned. It is not yet understood generally that political activity is, in fact, considerably broader in its true meaning than the usual connotation attached to campaign hoop-la and smoke-filled rooms.

Hold Our Freedom

The best way I know to put the subject in its proper light and to give it a proper definition is to say that "politics is the present tense of history."

My thinking goes something like this: The most precious heritage we have is freedom under the American democracy. If we lose it, all at once or bit by bit, we lose everything. Our inventive genius, our gigantic productive capacity, our tremendous technical advances, our products of farm and factory which all the world looks upon as miracles of American achievement — all these would wither away if we so completely occupied ourselves with their accomplishment that we neglected to preserve our inherent liberties. Certainly, then, we should work at the care and feeding of freedom—through alert, intelligent political activity—as assiduously as we have worked at the care and feeding of our abundant American economy.

What is required of us, actually, is good, active citizenship. And in that word "active" is the key to what we're seeking. It is passive citizenship just to live and to stay out of jail. And it is only one step removed to vote just once in a while —to cast an occasional ballot and let it go at that.

Many will recall a study of the political activity of American citizens by Julian L. Woodward and Elmo Roper, who reported their findings in the December 1950 *American Political Science Review.* They discovered that voting and "other" political interest and citizenship activities had a close correlation. They found in their tabulations that about 40 per cent of American citizens must be called "very inactive." About 40 per cent of us not only did not vote regularly but also failed to discuss public issues with others, belong to organizations which took stands on public issues or write or talk to congressmen and other public officials to give them our own opinions on public matters. Non-voting is thus a part of a citizen's total attitude toward government and political affairs. Those who did not vote did not do the other things which help to make government better by citizen interest, either.

Perhaps, after the recent elections, that figure of 40 per cent is no longer accurate. Perhaps political inactivity in this country will never again reach those proportions. But it gives us a clear picture, I think, of our citizenship failings up to now.

The practice of active, as com-

pared to passive, citizenship can open a whole new world to us as individuals and organizations and, eventually, because of our aggregate efforts, a much improved world in which to live. We will find that the institutions dependent upon citizenship will be much better and stronger than they have ever been.

Businessmen Interested

One area in which there is an increasing awareness of the need for more active citizenship is among the men of business and industry. Certainly no group or segment of our society has a greater stake in good government. And certainly no group has a greater opportunity to exert an influence for good at all levels of government.

This awakening of interest in civic affairs is expressing itself in many ways, even to the point where businessmen are running for and gaining public office. In fact, I might as well confess that the only justification I can think of for my being on this side of the speakers' table today is that I happen to have been both a businessman and a governmental official. Mine is just one isolated example, but I think it might help to demonstrate what can be and is being done by businessmen in many different communities.

About six years ago, a group of young men in Baltimore, Maryland, decided to do something about the way the city government was being run. As young businessmen we had voted regularly, we had joined the usual brace of civic organizations and we had signed our names to ringing resolutions calling for changes of one sort or another in things that we thought could be improved. But that didn't seem to be enough. We discovered we just weren't very effective in governmental affairs.

It was then that a little group of young men formed what came to be known as the "ECO"—the Effective Citizens Organization. Baltimore government at that time was dominated by two strong and well bossed political machines, but we decided to fight them all the way. Six of us among the young businessmen who had founded the new group announced as candidates for the Baltimore city council. We went to our employers and asked permission to make the run as a civic activity in the same sense that we might join a good government group or something of the sort.

The community was interested but not particularly impressed. The general view was that the political machines had gained too strong a foothold throughout the city to be broken by a group of political amateurs.

Well, we were amateurs all right, but we adopted some new and very effective techniques, some of which we had borrowed from our business experience. And we directed our appeal at those independent voters who wanted to make their citizenship effective through voluntarily organized effort.

To make a long story short, three of the six young candidates were elected, somewhat to our own surprise. We hadn't hoped to do so well the first time out. When a vacancy occurred a few months later, we were able to get one of the unsuccessful candidates named by the

council to fill the spot. That gave us a team of four in a 21-man council with four-year terms.

The same people who had said none of us could be elected in the first place now quickly pointed out that the four of us could hardly hope to be effective in a 21-man council. We lacked a voting majority. However, the practical effect was that the four independents became a balance of power between the almost equally divided representatives of the two principal machine factions. Each boss found that he had to have our votes with him on every issue to defeat his opposition, since we voted on merits without allegiance to either faction on any issue. The factional system soon began to break down, and there was more and more voting on the merits of each issue by the entire council.

Looking back now, there were some amusing sidelights to the experience along with the more serious aspects. I recall a speech by one of our opponents in the campaign in which he said—and I'm quoting now in full and verbatim: "Fellow citizens, I am a square and honest man. I never stole a dollar in my life. All I want is a chance. Thank you."

I might also say that I can remember only one instance when I was in any way exposed to graft and corruption as a public officeholder. In the mail one day I received a card which I still carry as a souvenir. It was signed "Public Bath Commission of Baltimore" and it read: "This card entitles the bearer to use the facilities of the free public baths of Baltimore."

As I say, my experience in municipal government and in various appointive positions with the federal government is by no means unique. I offer it simply as a first-hand illustration of the growing awareness among businessmen that good government is not a matter of wishful thinking but of active, continuing participation in the decisions of government. The old bugaboos against political activity are gradually breaking down.

It wasn't so long ago that, when the average man in industrial management heard the word "politics," he acted as though it were something that shouldn't be mentioned in polite conversation. And if anyone suggested that he should *participate* in politics, he would hold up his hands in horror and say "I've got to be nonpartisan." The trouble, of course, was that he confused nonpartisan with non-participation.

Employees Urged to Vote

In the recent elections, businessmen not only voted themselves but many top management people throughout the country sincerely and earnestly encouraged their employees and all other citizens to register and vote. Many companies used not only their own employee publications and other internal communications but large public advertisements, to help get out the vote. And in no case did I see any attempts to influence the voter's choice. It was nonpartisan political participation of the best kind.

Plain lack of interest and a general antipathy between business and government are other factors which have limited business participation in politics. Some businessmen have

mistakenly assumed that the aims of business and those of government are inherently incompatible. They have tended to damn government as though it were a separate entity instead of an integral part of our society elected to administer our affairs for the common good. But even these barriers are slowly disappearing into the limbo of political mythology.

Business today is coming to recognize at least two good reasons why it should take an active, continuing interest in the affairs of government. One is moral or ethical in its implications. It is a growing feeling that no company, large or small, can afford to ignore a responsibility to the whole of society—a responsibility beyond the duty to make a better product at lower cost and to serve the commercial and industrial needs of our country.

The organizations we call companies or corporations cannot retain the rights of a corporate citizen to protection under the law unless they accept the civic and social obligations that go with the legal rights. There can't be two kinds of citizens.

Under the leadership of many farsighted business managers — including Henry Ford II, who has been extremely active in the work of the Ford Foundation—industry has been moving more and more in the direction of supporting the basic institutions of our economy and our democracy. For example, larger and larger contributions are being made by many companies to such vital causes of our time as education.

This consciousness of citizenship responsibilities is probably most apparent at the community level. Any company which sincerely wants the good will and respect of the community in which it operates or has offices must earn that good will by being a good citizen and a good neighbor in that community. It must demonstrate a genuine concern for the welfare of the community.

Community Relations Committees

Ford Motor Company considers this activity so important that in nineteen of our plant cities we have community relations committees made up of the top company managers in each of those locations. In time, we will have such committees in all of our plant cities. The job of these men is to see to it that Ford Motor Company plays its part, financial and otherwise, in maintaining and improving the welfare of the entire community. Wherever a special community project seems to merit the attention of our central office, we are guided by the recommendations of the local committee.

Our people are encouraged to become active in civic affairs, to join worthwhile organizations and to provide leadership, if it is wanted, for various community projects. Although the company itself does not attempt to take sides in local issues, there are no restrictions on employees who want to become active politically as individuals.

Similar efforts are being made, on a larger or smaller scale, by a great many other companies. In a business and industrial economy, business has increasing obligations to the community and to the nation on many fronts.

A second and more compelling

reason why business should take a greater interest in politics is simply that good government is good business. That might sound like a truism to some, but it apparently is not altogether understood by a great many businessmen, even today.

There was a time when government had little or no effect on business, in so far as its health and well-being were concerned. There were laws and regulations, of course, but most of them were designed to correct or curb abuses. The company which made a good product at a fair price could pretty well count on getting along without help or hindrance from the government.

Business and Government

Today government reaches into just about every facet of our business as well as our personal life. Politics plays a large part in determining what shall be produced and who shall produce it; what shall be consumed and who shall consume it; what we shall eat and what we shall wear. Every business today has a powerful and not-so-silent partner—the government.

The businessman who fails to concern himself with all the activities of the community and the nation—with good government at all levels—in effect gives away a large measure of control over his business. Whether or not he takes part in government decisions, he cannot escape the effect of those decisions.

As an automobile man, I'm especially interested in public highway and parking facilities. How government handles these problems has a very obvious effect on my business. At the same time, my company has a very direct stake in adequate police and fire protection, in building and safety regulations, in water supply, refuse disposal and hundreds of other government services. Unless we help to determine the scope and quality of those services, we have little right to protest if they are not satisfactory.

Or take taxes. To the average businessman, taxes are a heavy and annoying addition to the cost of doing business. And yet the efficient manager who spares no effort to pare his own manufacturing costs down to the very minimum shows little interest in applying the same ingenuity to government costs which, in turn, determine taxes. Business is only beginning to learn that it must reinvest part of its earnings in another type of research and development—that which leads to better government, with greater efficiency and more economy.

Take the human relations viewpoint. The modern, progressive company knows that the average employee's needs and wants go far beyond good pay, good working conditions and all the ordinary considerations that go into any job. It knows that his life doesn't begin at eight and end at five every day. In other words, it knows that the employee's attitude and general work performance are influenced to a large extent by factors outside the company itself.

A good, well run community with adequate schools, hospitals and other community services is a highly important factor in employee morale and productivity. Surely it is not too difficult for any company to

recognize its responsibility and its own best interests in helping to develop and maintain that kind of community—from a business point of view alone.

Business thrives under good government, with good services. But it cannot expect others to carry the burden of providing good government. If business is to prosper and grow along with other segments of our society, if it is to make a maximum contribution to our total welfare, it must get into politics and stay.

Citizenship Responsibility

How a company carries out this citizenship responsibility is pretty much a matter of choice and of circumstances, I would say. At Ford Motor Company, it's a separate and distinct central office activity, with a small, full-time staff. It happens, in fact, to be my particular job at Ford.

For a year or so we experimented with a broad variety of activities under the title of the Office of Information on Governmental Affairs. However, because of the company's participation in the defense effort after the Korean outbreak, it became necesary for us to establish a separate and more specialized activity in Washington to maintain direct liaison with federal agencies. At that time, we realigned the functions of the original office and redesignated it as the Office of Civic Affairs, our present title. Very briefly, our present functions are:

1. To keep directors and officers of the company informed regarding trends and affairs in state and municipal governments and their possible effect on company policies and operations.

2. To represent the company in policy matters and general affairs which concern relationships with state and municipal governments and civic groups.

3. To serve as a member of special governmental or civic committees and boards in which the company participates.

Now what that means, simply, is that we at Ford have recognized our own direct stake in good government and are participating, in an organized way, in those activities which make for good government. As far as we know, our office is one of the first of its kind in the country. Its main advantage, as we see it, is that it centers responsibility for this activity and enables us to maintain a continuing, long-range grasp of political issues in which we have a special interest.

This is not, as some might say, an activity that only larger companies can afford. It's not the size of the office that counts, or even the fact that there is a separate, full-time office. It's the approach to the problem that matters—the willingness, first, to carry out the company's citizenship responsibilities to the maximum extent and, second, to make someone responsible for seeing that the job is done. Even a small company can afford to designate some one person, even on a part-time basis, to serve as its civic affairs representative.

Many of you undoubtedly have other examples of what can and should be done to increase business participation in politics. I hope that

all of them will find their way to the attention of business leaders and will help stimulate this newly awakened interest in politics throughout the business community. In an industrial society, good government is very obviously a responsibility of business and industrial leaders.

What we have said here today about businessmen applies equally well, of course, to farmers, labor and all other citizen groups. To go back to my original premise, politics is *everybody's* business.

This period of American history we're entering now, following a change in national administration after twenty years, finds our civic consciousness at a new all-time high. We have seen a new record turnout of nearly sixty million voters in one of the fiercest, most thought-provoking political struggles of our time. Never have so many ordinary citizens applied their minds and hearts to important political issues. Never have so many of our people taken up the challenge of democracy to think and then vote.

A Year-round Job

We who have been working for good government must not miss any opportunity to sustain that high interest and participation. The old pattern of ebb and flow in political interest is weakening, and there is a chance now that we may be able to make good government an all-year job every year for more and more people. There is no more important or more rewarding task to be found.

Unlike many other peoples, we in America are to a very large extent masters of our own destiny. Within limits, we have the power to shape and direct the conditions under which we shall live our lives. And, to a degree unknown anywhere else, we have the priceless freedom to choose. One of our great dangers is that we may lose these privileges not from abuse but from misuse. Thomas Jefferson said it well, and his statement still stands:

> I know no safe depository of the ultimate powers of society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion by education.

We've just had one of the finest possible lessons in American democracy. Let's make sure that what we've learned won't be lost.

Vigilance - Price of Success

Pride of achievement not enough; citizen can retain good government only by maintaining constant watch.

By THOMAS H. REED*

IT MAY seem incongruous to you that a Connecticut Yankee should be brought to Texas to talk about pride. For, if our educators are right, that we learn best by seeing and doing, Texans should be among the world's greatest experts on pride. We did not need Edna Ferber to tell us how proud Texans are of the vast size of their state, its prodigious natural resources, its fantastically growing cities or even its formidable football teams and its beautiful women. Texans have been telling about these things in voices which have carried even to far off New England. Not only the big men with the cream colored Stetsons and the highly decorated shirts but many less unusually attired citizens have assured us that Texas is the most favored "spot" on God's green earth. And, as to the fact, we are in substantial agreement with them. I only want to challenge the propriety of overweening pride in such advantages and the material prosperity that has sprung from them.

I think I have a right to discuss the subject because we in Connecticut are experts in this kind of pride too. We can't take pride in our great size so we are proud of our small size. It is a matter of satisfaction to us that, with our good roads, no place in the state is more than two hours' ride from the Capitol in Hartford, so that our legislators run home every night during the session, where they can be scolded to their faces by their constituents. We look at our many highly diversified industries and "calculate"—the Yankee term for "think"—that if we had as many acres as Texas we would have a population of a hundred million.

When boosters from other states boast of their enormous wealth we smile complacently in the knowledge of how much of that wealth is owned by or mortgaged to our great Hartford insurance companies. We have no broad prairies or mountain ranges to be proud of but we do have beautiful homey scenery of hills and dales dotted with sparkling lakes and bordered by surf-pounded beaches, where even Texans love to enjoy our summer breezes. We don't talk about these things with the ebullient enthusiasm of Texans but we think of them hard in our dour Yankee way.

Then there is another source of

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pride—pride in the achievements of the past. San Antonians are very proud of the Alamo though not one San Antonian in a thousand can claim the slightest blood relationship to the heroes of the Alamo or any San Antonians of their time. We have no Alamo in Connecticut but some of our early citizens had a lot to do with establishing the foundations of constitutional self-government in the United States. Everyone in Connecticut is very proud of those accomplishments though not 5 per cent can trace their descent from those old worthies.

My own little town of Wethersfield is, economically speaking, a mere suburb of Hartford, absorbed in the Hartford metropolitan area. It was founded, however, a year ahead of Hartford, in 1634, and along with a few other settlements of that time governed itself for several years as an independent sovereign political unit subject to no other authority on earth. It is a singular thing that the young family moving in today from Wisconsin or Louisiana and making a down payment on a five-room home is as proud of this history as any Wolcott or Griswold, and just as determined to defy any form of union with the other communities of the Hartford area.

I want to make it clear to you that, in my opinion at least, the blood of heroes of the Alamo cannot be depended on to wash out the civic sins of San Antonians today, any more than a respectful glance at Hartford's old State House —designed by Bullfinch though it was—can compensate on judgment day for failure to vote at even one city election.

I can think, and so can you, of many "proud cities." There is Madrid which the Spanish kings laid out in the very center of their kingdom and adorned with the spoils of the Indies. A few months ago I wandered through a few of the 1,900 rooms of the royal palace filled with sumptuous furniture and tapestries, where Franco holds his state receptions. Then I went out on the streets to have my coat-tail pulled at every street corner by a ragged beggar and to view the thousands of ill-clad people promenading ceaselessly up and down, past shops full of things they are too poor to buy, reluctant to return to the crowded warrens where they live. I wondered what right Madrid had to be proud.

Good or Bad Pride

There is Rome, for centuries the mistress of its world, whose people fed on the plunder of her far flung provinces. I have climbed about the ruins of her imperial greatness. Pride went before a fall—and such a fall. Rome shrank to not much more than a village by the Tiber, whose rude nobles quarried the stone for their petty fortresses from the remains of former grandeur. Oh yes, Rome came back. As the capital of the Catholic world it developed a new magnificence, and as the capital of a United Italy a substantial civic importance. Then Mussolini raised again the banner of pride. Some of you may have seen him swelling with self-importance on his balcony overlooking the Piazza

Venetia. And again pride went before a fall.

In itself pride is neither good nor bad. It derives its quality from the objects which inspire it. There is false pride in purely natural advantages or in mere material success. Too much pride, even in worthy objects, often leads to self-complacency, blindness and disaster. It is the man with his nose in the air—no matter what the cause—who trips over the crack in the sidewalk. Let us see how all this applies to San Antonio.

San Antonio is, of course, a proud city, proud—like most other American cities—of its phenomenal growth, its vast volume of business, the wealth of its inhabitants, the size and beauty of its buildings, public and private, and its historic past. Until very recently, however, its people have had little occasion to take pride in their city government. Good city government is something in which pride may be taken much more properly than in many other things of which San Antonians are proud. Good city government in a democracy means that the people themselves have by their joint action provided for many of the basic conditions of human happiness.

What are the qualities of a good city government? In the first place, it must be representative. This means much more than that the people have a right to participate in the choice of its governing authorities. It means that they must participate effectively in the unbossed choice of those authorities. Good city government must be honest and efficient, that the people may get a hundred cents of return for every tax dollar. I have coupled honesty with efficiency because there is no more thoroughly exposed fraud than the notion that a dishonest government can be efficient except in lining the pockets of its bosses. I have not said "economical" because that term is often abused to mean parsimonious, and city governments exist to render service, not to save money but to spend it wisely in the public interest. No government, moreover, can be called efficient which is extravagant or wastes the people's money on unworthy objects.

A good city government preserves peace and order and protects the public from the encroachments of vice. It enforces law without fear or favor, and does not, by partial enforcement of wise regulations intended to curb the criminal and the vicious, enhance the opportunities of racketeers and gangsters.

What Good Government Does

A good city government provides effective fire protection, collects refuse frequently and disposes of it with a minimum of nuisance, provides adequate facilities for the collection and disposal of sewage and requires all habitations to be connected with these facilities. It provides or ensures the provision of a sufficient supply of water safe to drink and suitable to use for all domestic and most industrial purposes. It provides itself or regulates satisfactorily the supply of gas, electricity and transportation facilities.

A good city government makes provision for an up-to-date public school system for all its children, library facilities for all classes of its

population and a recreational system to foster the health and fill the leisure time of all ages.

A good city government protects the public health by the use of every resource of modern science, controlling contagion, protecting the purity of food and drink, furnishing health education and conducting special campaigns against the ravages of tuberculosis, infantile paralysis, cancer, heart disease and other scourges. At the same time it provides hospitals to the full extent needed to supplement what is done by private beneficence, and sees to it that the poorest of its inhabitants has, when they are needed, the best medical and hospital service.

A good city government cares for the poor and needy, encourages private charity but lays an iron hand on those who in the name of charity seek to defraud the public, and in its own charitable enterprises makes use of the most enlightened methods of social service and regeneration.

Good city government makes long-range plans for the growth and development of the city, buttressed by sound zoning regulations, so that it may not strangle to death on its own traffic, and that every portion of its site shall be used most advantageously and that their due portion of light and air may be assured to all its people.

This catalogue could be extended into many other fields of activity but I have said enough to establish the fact that a good city government is of almost incalculable value to its citizens. You are better judges than I of the degree to which some of these qualities of good government have been achieved in San Antonio prior to 1951. I think it is clear on the record, however, that down to that time the terms "representative, honest and efficient" could be applied only with many qualifications to the government of San Antonio, and that its accomplishments in the various fields of service were vitiated largely by defects in its organization and administrative methods and, it is regrettable to say, lack of public interest in its affairs.

San Antonio Government

The governmental history of San Antonio as read by an outsider differs only in details and a decided time lag from that of many other American cities. From its incorporation by the Republic of Texas in 1837 to 1914 it went through various phases of mayor and council government, in which executive authority was divided between numerous elective officers, and the center of gravity, if one existed, was to be found in the council. This is an experience which San Antonio shared with most other American cities and which led to Bryce's famous dictum that municipal government was our "one conspicuous failure."

The movement, however, for concentration of power and responsibility which began to be felt in the 1880s in other parts of the country seems to have passed lightly over San Antonio until 1914, at which time, under the authority of the recently adopted home rule provisions of the Texas constitution, it took up the so-called commission form of government. This was thirteen years after its origin in Galveston and

Des Moines. The council-manager plan had been operating already for a year in Dayton, Ohio. By 1917 the number of cities with the commission form of government had reached its peak and after 1920 steadily declined.

San Antonio's experience with commission government corresponds almost exactly with that of other cities. Its concentration of power in a board of five elected officials was undoubtedly an advance from the highly diffused and decentralized form of government which had preceded it. The defects of the plan, which ignores the traditional division of labor between the functions of representation and administration, soon became evident. Municipal administration already by 1914 had ceased to be a simple matter to be handled by any amateur. It has since become more and more highly technical. The mayor and four commissioners, acting as councilmen on the one hand and heads of departments on the other, only by accident possessed the qualifications for the latter. The public in San Antonio as elsewhere was ill prepared to weigh professional attainments. The salaries paid, while high for the purely legislative side of the work, proved insufficient to attract first-class executives who seldom can afford anyway to gamble their professional future on the chances of a popular election. Moreover, the amount of work required of the commissioners as heads of departments practically excluded from candidacy the successful business and professional men whose service would have been invaluable in determining questions of policy. Then, as has been the common experience, the commission as a whole could not in practice exercise the control over the individual commissioners which in theory it was supposed to do, with the result that there came to be five little governments instead of one and complete failure of responsibility to the people.

To this form of government, already somewhat outmoded when it was adopted, San Antonio remained faithful for 37 years. No one could be proud of such a government nor in the public apathy which made it possible. Although there had been interest in the council-manager plan for twenty years, it was defeated at the polls in 1940. Finally came the reaction—delayed but devastating. Beginning with the establishment of a bureau of municipal research in 1948 events moved swiftly to a climax. A powerful citizens' movement, as in other cities, swelled into action, swept the old guard out of office, framed and adopted a council-manager charter and elected a council pledged to carry through the reforms so begun. The victory was complete and overwhelming, and was climaxed by the selection as manager of one of the best qualified men in the country for the job, and the selection by him of a competent team of officials. For the first time in its history San Antonio had an up-to-date streamlined government, and justifiable pride swelled in the hearts of San Antonians. "Now," said they, "we've done it," and the National Municipal League just a year ago, even before the new government had gone

into effect, gave San Antonio a citation for its successful citizen movement for better city government.

Manager Plan Assailed

Then something happened, which often has happened elsewhere, though seldom so quickly. Before the new administration had been in office six months it was violently assailed by a well organized group demanding the recall of a majority of the council. It is certainly not the function of any outsider to assay before San Antonians the merits of the controversy thus engendered. There is no surer way for a simple Yankee to become a damned Yankee than to take sides in a local political fray in Texas. The majority you gave General Eisenhower is not to be construed as an invitation to a northern Republican to interfere in matters which are exclusively your business. I can with propriety, however, testify on the basis of the common experience of American cities what will happen to good government in San Antonio if its friends do not defend it.

The council-manager plan of government is intended to bring into the service of the city a group of expert administrators headed by an expert city manager. This is exactly what has happened in San Antonio. These experts know how to run a police department, clean streets, collect garbage and do the thousand and one technical things that are necessary in the daily operation of a well governed city. The very nature of the training and experience which has made them competent administrators has disqualified them for the business of politics.

That is why under the manager plan you elect a council to select the manager who in turn selects his colleagues and assistants. The manager reports to the council and the council reports to the people. But no council by itself can guarantee to give the experts the support they need for a fair opportunity to show what they can do. Behind the council there must be an organization of citizens capable of winning elections. If the present council were recalled the manager and his heads of departments would be at the mercy of the victors and there is nothing these administrators can do to stave off the recall. For if they were the most talented of politicians the conditions of their employment forbid the use of those talents in the local political arena.

The possession of a council sympathetic with the council-manager plan is essential to that plan's success. The continuous possession of such councils depends on the existence of a vigorous permanent citizen organization prepared to fight not in one but in every succeeding election. I am not saying which side of the recall issue any San Antonian should take but I am saying if you want good council-manager government and the administration of city business by non-political experts—and I hope you do—you must be prepared to organize and fight to have city councils sympathetic with that idea.

Naturally, if the present city council is that kind of a council and capable of wisely guiding the policies of the city, you should fight to defend it. If under such circumstances

seven years after its adoption in the people of San Antonio won't take the trouble to do so I would not give a plugged nickel for San Antonio's right to the title of "proud city."

This, of course, is not the first time that experts have had rough going in San Antonio. There was Davy Crockett, a man expert in the ways of staying alive on the frontier as well as the possessor of other civic virtues. So expert with his rifle —Old Betsy—was he that tradition says that coons at sight of him came down from the trees begging him not to shoot. But he was caught in the Alamo, with other brave men, by an overwhelming enemy, and died there because relief did not come in time. Monuments have been built to these men since and their story is one of San Antonio's proudest traditions, but on that fatal day in 1836 they were just irrevocably dead.

Citizens Must Act

Suppose that you have in your city hall today an expert manager who knows how to make the coons of waste and inefficiency come down from the tall trees in which they have been sheltering lo these many years. Suppose him and his colleagues attacked by a band of disgruntled ex-office-holders, greedy politicians and owners of property newly annexed who resent having to contribute to the cost of city government. Suppose that the good people of the city sit back and let these evil forces riot unhindered. On the basis of these suppositions I can state it to be an irrefutable conclusion that your experts will, politically speaking, soon be as dead as the heroes of the Alamo, and the good government some of you fought so hard to achieve as dead as they. It would be a terrible blow to your civic reputation if under circumstances like these the council-manager form of government in San Antonio came to such an untimely end. It would be doubly so if such a debacle came to pass because of dissension among those who should be united for good government.

The price of continued good city government is continued organization and effort on the part of those who want it. The history of the manager plan in Cleveland and Houston which lost it, as well as in Cincinnati which has retained it triumphantly for a generation, and Kansas City which redeemed it gloriously after years of misuse, teaches the same lesson of organization — permanent, ever renewed, vigorous organization.

The realization that good government as well as liberty can be had only at the price of eternal vigilance is very disconcerting to some people. But you cannot build even a motor car or a factory and then neglect it, much less a structure made of human beings like a government. We just have to face the fact that while sound forms of government work better than unsound ones you cannot in the long run get out of any form of government more than you put into it.

When girding for the fray in San Antonio you can at least take comfort that the friends of good government everywhere are having to do the same and that their hopes and

(Continued on page 585)

News in Review

Voters Handle Flood of Propositions

Constitution Amendments Vie with Minor Issues

AT THE general election on November 4 voters in the 48 states were faced with some 225 ballot propositions in addition to their responsibilities for electing officials. Four states accounted for more than half the total: Georgia with 46 propositions (all constitutional amendments), ten statewide, the rest local though on the state ballot;[1] Louisiana with 34; California with 24; and Oregon with 18.

Election Requirements

California: An initiative measure to prohibit the frequent California practice of cross-filing in partisan primary elections, by requiring a candidate to have been a registered member of the party from which he seeks nomination at least three months prior to filing nomination papers, was narrowly defeated; but a proposal, originating in the Assembly, to require each candidate for a partisan office to indicate his party affiliation, carried by a wide margin. The voters also overwhelmingly approved a constitutional amendment specifying that members of the armed forces reserves can hold public office without thereby coming under the ban against double office-holding. Constitutional restrictions against the Chinese, some of them already declared in conflict with federal law, were repealed.

Georgia: The proposed constitutional amendment requiring that candidates for statewide offices be nominated in a primary held on the county unit basis—thus stifling independent nominations as well as giving the rural counties overwhelming control—was defeated.

An adopted amendment provides that any proposed amendment that applies only to one area of the state must be voted on only in the area to which it applies, instead of requiring the affirmative vote of both the area and the entire state.

Another successful amendment states that local laws adding members to local governing bodies must provide for their election "by the qualified voters" of the area affected—instead of by a majority of all qualified voters of the area, as at present.

Iowa: Two amendments dealing with a possible vacancy in the governorship were overwhelmingly adopted. One provides that if the governor-elect dies before inauguration the newly elected lieutenant-governor shall assume the office. The other specifies that if there are vacancies in the offices of both, the succession shall pass to the president pro tem of the senate, then to the speaker of the house and, if there are vacancies in these two offices, the Iowa Supreme Court shall convene the legislature to elect a governor and lieutenant-governor.

Oregon: A proposed amendment to make the superintendent of public instruction appointive by the state board of education, instead of elective, was defeated.

Mississippi: The voters by practically ignoring it caused failure of a proposed "literacy" amendment requiring voters to give a "reasonable interpretation of any section of the state or federal constitutions."

[1]See page 574, this issue.

Reapportionment

Michigan: Two plans of reapportionment for the legislature, both submitted by initiative petitions, were voted on. The successful one, called the "balanced legislature" plan, carried by a rather narrow margin. It freezes into the constitution a predominantly area basis for the senate, permanently establishing 34 districts (an increase of two). The house membership is increased from 100 to 110, elected from districts created by the legislature according to population formula in the amendment. Wayne County (containing Detroit) is expected to have more house members, but the rural counties, because of minimum requirements, will continue to have relatively greater representation per unit of population.

The legislature is called upon to reapportion the house after each decennial federal census; otherwise the state board of canvassers must do so. By permanently fixing senate districts the future composition of a constitutional convention is also determined, inasmuch as such a body must be made up of three delegates from each senate district. Senate and house terms are two years.

A rival plan, sponsored by the CIO and backed by labor, liberal and urban groups, would have made population the basis for both houses, with 33 senate districts, each containing three house districts. Apportionment would have been by the secretary of state after each census and would have been enforceable by mandamus. The favorable vote in Wayne County for this plan was insufficient to offset the "upstate" opposition.

Oregon: A constitutional amendment requiring the legislature to reapportion itself on a population basis after each census was approved by the voters. The Oregon legislature has disregarded the existing requirement for reapportionment since 1911. The new amendment calls upon the secretary of state to reapportion if the legislature fails to act, with the State Supreme Court having the power to enforce compliance. The population of the state is to be divided by the numbers of senators and representatives, respectively. If the result, when applied to a given county or district, produces a fraction of more than one-half, such county or district is entitled to a member; otherwise the county is to be attached to an adjoining county or counties. The first reapportionment is to be operative for 1954 elections.

Wisconsin: The voters were asked to advise the legislature as to whether the constitution, which now specifies the population basis for both houses, should be amended to provide for the establishment of either senate or assembly districts on an area as well as population basis. The vote was adverse approximately 700,000 to 630,000. Whether the legislature will now proceed to apportion on a population basis remains to be seen.

Courts

California: A constitutional amendment originating in the senate and adopted at the election provides that if a vacancy in the elective Superior Court occurs after the beginning of a year in which a general election is to be held and before the beginning of the next term of office, a successor judge shall be elected at that general election, to take the place of the judge who has been appointed (by the governor) to fill the vacancy. Formerly if a vacancy occurred after January 1 preceding a general election, the successor judge would not be elected until the general election two years later.

Another amendment originating in the assembly, but defeated, would have changed the present provision

that no person is permitted to serve on a grand jury in two consecutive years; it would have had three to nine members of a grand jury held over to the following year but not to the third year.

Washington: An amendment originating in the house, providing for compulsory retirement of judges at 75, was overwhelmingly approved.

Other Proposals

A host of other amendments and propositions on a wide variety of topics were voted on. Several in Arizona are dealt with elsewhere in this department. Some other statewide issues of interest follow.

Alabama: Three amendments were approved, two of them dealing with specific counties. One, restricting gasoline and motor vehicle taxes to highway purposes, carried two to one. A fourth, to extend sheriff's terms, was defeated.

California: An amendment permitting a city charter to provide for the establishment of a borough system of government for the whole or any part of the city or city and county governed thereby, was adopted by a heavy majority vote. The constitution heretofore has merely permitted the division of the entire municipal area into boroughs or districts.

Another adopted amendment authorizes the legislature to permit any local government that undertakes a community redevelopment project to set aside the taxes upon the increased value of the property to pay the costs of redevelopment.

A proposal (No. 10—see the November Review, page 507) to amend the constitution to prohibit appropriation of public money to the League of California Cities, County Supervisors' Association, any chamber of commerce or any other private organization which attempts to influence legislation, was defeated by a wide margin. It was proposed by initiative petition sponsored by old-age pension advocates and would have retaliated against organizations that aided in the repeal in 1949 of the drastic old-age pension act.

An initiative statute, sponsored by the same group, which would have transferred old-age security administration and support from the counties to the state and would have added several fringe benefits to old-age assistance, was also defeated by a large margin.

Two "loyalty" amendments, originating in the assembly, were adopted by ratios of more than two-to-one. The first directs the legislature to prohibit any person who advocates the overthrow of the national or state government by force or other unlawful means to hold any state or local office or employment; and to withhold any tax exemption under state law from any such individual or organization. The second requires all public employees as well as public officers to take a loyalty oath.

Georgia: An adopted amendment creates a State Medical Education Board, authorized to make loans to persons to help defray the cost of education at any accredited medical school in the nation.

Another provides that the governor shall have 30 days after the legislature adjourns to approve or veto legislation, instead of five days as at present. A bill not acted on within 30 days is automatically vetoed.

Another authorizes the extension to state employees of the provisions of federal old age and survivors insurance.

Illinois: Two amendments adopted remove the ceiling on pay of county officers and eliminate double liability of stockholders of state banks.

Louisiana: An amendment to restore

the merit system for the state civil service was approved. Of 33 other amendments adopted, an outstanding one authorized the legislature to make uniform provisions for local adoption of municipal home rule charters.

Minnesota: Five proposed amendments failed of adoption. Four of them received large majorities of the votes cast thereon but failed to obtain the required constitutional majority of all votes cast at the election. The first would have changed the restriction as to investment of state funds in local bonds; the second would have required a popular vote on all proposed constitutional amendments, with a three-fifths majority of the vote thereon required for adoption, instead of a majority of all votes at the election; the third (which had a 345,000 majority) would have removed certain voting restrictions applying to Indians; and the fourth would have permitted the legislature to prescribe qualifications and extend the jurisdiction of probate judges. A proposal for local sharing of motor vehicle taxes for highway purposes was defeated by majority vote.

Missouri: An adopted amendment limits the biennial sessions of the legislature to five months and special sessions to 60 days. Legislators are to receive $10 for expenses for each day they answer the roll call.

Nebraska: One adopted amendment permits the legislature to determine the composition and method of election of a constitutional convention; another provides for publication of notice of submission of constitutional amendments in three instead of four consecutive weeks.

Another establishes a State Department of Education and an elective Board of Education, with an appointive commissioner of education, and transfers constitutional and statutory provisions relating to the present superintendent of public instruction to the new department, board or commissioner, as applicable.

A proposed amendment to increase the salary of legislators from $872 to $1,250 per annum was defeated.

North Carolina: An adopted amendment authorizes the governor, in the event of a legislative vacancy by death or resignation, to fill the vacancy upon the recommendation of the party executive committee (of the county, for a member of the lower house or of the senatorial district for a senator).

Another adopted amendment makes a minor change in the method of filling vacancies in the Supreme and Superior Courts and among Superior Court solicitors. Formerly the governor appointed successors to serve only until the next regular legislative election (occurring in the even-numbered years). The amendment provides that if such election comes less than 30 days after the vacancy occurs, the appointment is until the following election, that is, for slightly more than two years.

North Dakota: A proposed amendment to permit municipalities to own and operate liquor stores was defeated.

Ohio: A proposal for a constitutional convention was defeated (see separate item).

Oklahoma: A proposal to reduce the voting age to eighteen was rejected.

Oregon: Among thirteen statewide proposals approved were a referred amendment authorizing the legislature to establish a continuing joint committee to exercise budgetary control over state officers and agencies, with power in case of emergency to allocate emergency funds to state agencies and provide for new activities between sessions; a referred amendment providing that legislators' terms shall begin on the first Monday in January following election, instead of on the date of election; an initiated amendment authorizing the sale of liquor

by the glass, under local option; and an initiated proposition requiring the use of standard time.

Six statewide proposals defeated included a referendum by petition on an act setting up the procedure for reorganizing the state's school districts into larger units; an initiative measure authorizing the governor to appoint a milk control administrator; and an initiative constitutional amendment prohibiting lotteries, bookmaking or pari-mutuel betting on races.

South Carolina: An amendment permitting the legislature to decide upon arrangements for schools—public or private—in case the U. S. Supreme Court outlaws public school segregation of Negro from white children was approved in a ratio of more than two to one.

South Dakota: A proposed amendment to require a recommendation of the Board of Pardons before the governor can pardon persons serving sentences heavier than two years was defeated.

Texas: Two amendments were adopted, both of them originating in the house. One directs the legislature to set up a Medical Education Board and a medical education fund to be used by the board for grants, loans or scholarships to students desiring to study medicine and agreeing to practice in the rural areas of Texas. The other gives the legislature power to enable municipalities to provide workmen's compensation insurance for their employees, including the right to provide their own insurance.

Utah: An initiative proposal to repeal the lien law which places liens on homes owned by recipients of old-age assistance and enables the state to recover a portion of such assistance upon the death of the recipient, was defeated approximately three to two.

Virginia: An amendment permitting the state to contribute money to the regional educational programs conducted under the auspices of the Southern Regional Education Board was approved.

Washington: An adopted amendment, originating in the senate, permits amendment or repeal of an initiative measure within two years after its adoption, by a vote of two-thirds of all members of the legislature or by a direct vote of the people thereon at any general or special election.

An initiative proposal to increase welfare benefits for the old, the blind, the unemployables and dependents, and to supersede existing social security legislation was defeated.

Ohio Turns Down Constitutional Reform

Ohio voters, in the throes of reaction, voted overwhelmingly on November 4 against the calling of a convention to consider revision of the state's 101-year-old constitution. The final vote was 1,960,209 to 1,018,020.

On the ballot by reason of a provision in the present constitution requiring a vote on revision every twenty years, the issue from the start became the target of a double-barreled campaign of opposition and misrepresentation by state and local chambers of commerce and farm organizations. Its principal champions were the League of Women Voters, state labor groups, local good government organizations and Charles P. Taft, Republican candidate for governor. Mr. Taft, knifed by many in his own party for his long record of political liberalism, was chairman of the Ohio Bar Association committee which endorsed the issue. His Democratic opponent, Frank J. Lausche, one of the few survivors of Ohio's Republican landslide, opposed the convention. Lausche supporters exploited Taft's views particularly in rural areas where the con-

vention was opposed on the ground that it would endanger their domination of the state legislature.

Typical of newspaper attitudes was that of the Cincinnati *Enquirer* which after years of editorial deprecation of Ohio's constitutional handicaps, reversed itself a week before election. In its leading editorial on October 28, the *Enquirer* declared: "The needed changes are extensive enough: a greater measure of home rule for Ohio's cities, a longer term for state officers, a shorter ballot, provision for removing the judiciary from politics and a fairer and more realistic apportionment of legislative representation—just to name some of the more obvious ones."

Against these grounds for support, the *Enquirer* listed (1) the cost of the convention, (2) fear that a convention would result in "trading of interests and log-rolling," and (3) "unpredictable diversions of good intentions."

The real basis for opposition from public and agricultural interests, as well as from a large majority of the old-line Republican and Democratic politicians, was fear that the convention would result in "giving the 'rabble' a greater voice in the government." This fear reduced financial support for advocates of the convention to a disastrous minimum. Although members of local and state bar associations voted decisively in favor of the convention, only a relatively small number were outspoken.

The effect of inadequate funds for education and promotion was aggravated by the demands of the national campaign which drowned out efforts of enthusiastic volunteers to secure a hearing. In the end, it is probable that the issue was defeated as much by ignorance and lack of information as by the effectiveness of the campaign of its opponents. Nearly 700,000, or 20 per cent of the state's voters, failed to signify their choices one way or the other on the issue.

FOREST FRANK
Cincinnati City Charter Committee

Arizona Repeals Retirement Act; Aids Reorganization

In a "yes" mood the voters of Arizona gave their decisive approval to all ballot propositions, six in number, at the recent general election. The only constitutional amendment on the ballot, a so-called "better roads" amendment, limits the expenditure of revenues derived from road users to highway purposes only. The state legislature initiated the amendment. As road funds were not being diverted to other uses, the amendment in effect deprives the legislature of the power to alter the existing situation.

A referendum measure submitted by the legislature to the voters repealed the public employees' retirement act, an initiated measure, which the voters adopted in 1948 and which the legislature persistently refused to activate. In the course of an intensive newspaper and radio campaign for a "yes" vote on the referendum, its supporters stated, contrary to evidence presented to the legislature by an actuarial firm which that body had engaged, that activation of the public employees' retirement act would involve an immediate outlay of more than $8,000,000 and would occasion an immediate and substantial increase in the state tax rate. The legislature has promised to bring state employees under the old-age and survivors' insurance system of the federal government, and various legislative leaders have pledged themselves to work for a supplemental state pension plan. When opponents of the retirement repealer challenged the power of the legislature to resubmit to the voters a law adopted by the initiative

process, the Supreme Court last summer upheld the legislature's action.[1]

In approving three other referendum measures, the voters indicated in broad fashion that they favored a limited amount of state administrative reorganization consisting of the establishment of three new departments—law, finance and public health and welfare. The measures were not highly detailed reorganization laws; instead, they merely declared that the legislature "shall enact legislation" for the purpose of creating the new departments. In 1951 the legislature, as part of a slightly broader reorganization program, enacted laws to set up the new departments, but the laws never went into effect. Opponents through referendum proceedings provided for a delay until the voters had a chance to pass upon the question at the November 1952 election. In the meantime the legislature, in 1952, repealed the reorganization laws and provided instead to submit the three referendum measures to the voters.

The only legislative initiative on the ballot, a so-called "fair labor practices" act, outlaws secondary boycotts by labor organizations. The prohibition includes picketing in the absence of a bona fide dispute regarding wages or working conditions between an employer and a majority of his employees. The act supplements an anti-closed shop law approved by the voters in 1948 on referendum. It was designed to implement an anti-closed shop amendment adopted in 1946.

Two proposed initiative measures of a highly controversial nature, one to provide for a severance tax and the other for an appropriation to activate the public employees' retirement act, were barred from the November election by a court injunction when opponents of the proposals showed that an exhaustive search of the more than 20,000 signatures upon the petitions for each disclosed an insufficient number of valid signatures.

PAUL KELSO
University of Arizona

[1]See the REVIEW, September 1952, page 401.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Tacoma, Washington, (1950 population 143,673) at the general election on November 4 voted to adopt a council-manager charter. A council of nine will supersede the present city commission of five members on June 1, 1953. The present commission is required to set a date for a special primary election in February for nomination of councilmen to be followed by an election in March. It is expected that the councilmen-elect will meet informally prior to June 1 to discuss city matters generally and the selection of a city manager in particular, so as to avoid delay when they assume office. The Tacoma charter differs from the usual manager type by placing the city-owned electric, water, belt railway and garbage utilities under a board appointed by the mayor. The present provision for an elected civil service board is to be replaced by one for an appointed board.

The city of **Evanston, Illinois,** (73,641) voted on November 4 to adopt a council-manager charter by a vote of 23,107 to 12,658. A separate proposal to reduce the number of aldermen from eighteen to four was overwhelmingly defeated.

The village of **Oak Park, Illinois,** (63,529) also approved a council-manager charter, 25,190 to 7,886. The new charters in both Evanston and Oak Park go into effect next April. Both municipalities are suburbs of Chicago.

Riverside, California, (46,764)

adopted a mayor-council-manager charter on September 17. **Santa Ana** (45,533), in the same state, did so on November 4 by a vote of 11,329 to 7,071.

The town of **Arlington, Massachusetts,** (44,353) voted for a town manager charter at the November election, 11,756 to 10,891. It goes into effect immediately after the annual town election on the first Monday of March 1953.

Newport, Rhode Island, (37,564) adopted a council-manager charter on November 4 by a vote of 7,149 to 1,869. The council will consist of seven members, all elected at large, but four of them being residents of designated wards.

North Sacramento, California, (6,029) approved the council-manager plan, 1,129 to 798. The council had previously passed an ordinance providing the system.

Westchester, Illinois, (4,308) has recently adopted the manager plan by ordinance.

The towns of **Bristol** and **Jamestown, Rhode Island,** appear to have rejected town manager, home rule charters at the November election, by narrow margins—unless absentee ballots change the results.

Although the proponents of a modern council-manager charter for **New Haven, Connecticut,** succeeded by ruling of the Connecticut Supreme Court of Errors in obtaining a vote thereon at the November 4 election, the charter was defeated, 14,116 to 23,987. The board of aldermen had previously set September 16, when victory would have been practically impossible because of a statutory provision that the proposition fails if less than 51 per cent of the registered electors vote on the issue. The charter would have replaced the present board of 33 aldermen elected from wards by a council of nine, elected at large, which would have chosen a city manager.

A proposed council-manager charter for the town of **Wethersfield, Connecticut,** is expected to be submitted to the 1953 legislature for approval.

The manager plan was discussed at a public meeting in the borough of **Elizabethtown, Pennsylvania,** this fall, called by the local Chamber of Commerce.

In **Orlando, Florida,** a charter committee has proposed a strong-mayor form of government, but the Orlando *Star,* the League of Women Voters and others are advocating the council-manager plan. State legislators from the area have expressed themselves in favor of placing both forms before the voters.

In **South Miami, Florida,** Mayor James H. McConnell has expressed himself as in favor of the council-manager plan for his city. A group of members of the Junior Chamber of Commerce is preparing a report on charter revision.

A citizens' committee has been formed in **Gulfport, Florida,** to study the pros and cons of council-manager government for that city.

Grand Rapids, Michigan, on November 4 defeated a revised and improved home rule charter, which would have meant more integration of departmental structure under the responsibility of the city manager. The ward system of electing the council was not altered, for fear that such a change would endanger adoption of the charter. The latter represented sixteen months of work by a charter commission. The vote against it was in the ratio of three to two, with about 55 per cent of the voters participating.

Voters of **Circleville, Ohio,** turned down a proposal to adopt the manager plan at the November 4 election.

Ashland, Wisconsin, at a referendum on November 4, voted 2,389 to 2,358

to continue the council-manager plan, installed in 1948.

In **Alton, Illinois,** a committee advocating the council-manager plan has organized under the name of Alton Citizens for City Management and has circulated petitions for an election on the question of adoption.

Moline, Illinois, declined on November 4 to follow the example of its neighbors, East Moline and Rock Island, which recently adopted the manager plan. The vote against the plan was 9,936 to 6,780. The Moline *Dispatch* actively urged its adoption, and a committee which circulated the original petition made a belated campaign. The opposition was spearheaded by Mayor Johnson and a group calling itself the Citizens Committee for Representative Government.

Oak Lawn and **Homewood, Illinois,** are reported to be considering the manager plan.

In San Antonio, Texas, petitions filed for the recall of five of the city's nine councilmen, elected under the council-manager plan, have been declared insufficient. Recall has been fought by the Citizens Committee for Council-Manager Government.

A charter election to be held in **El Paso, Texas,** some time in 1953, is expected to bring a decision by the voters on approval of the council-manager plan or retention of the mayor-council plan.

In **Holton, Kansas,** where the manager plan was adopted in 1948 by a vote of 386 to 384, it was retained by a vote of 939 to 496 on November 4.

Topeka, Kansas, defeated a proposed council-manager charter on November 4 by a vote of 21,051 to 14,424. The manager plan was bitterly opposed by the Topeka *Capitol,* but supported by the Topeka *State Journal.*

The **Grants, New Mexico,** *Beacon* urges the council-manager plan for that municipality.

Idaho Falls, Idaho, defeated a council-manager proposal on October 14 by a vote of 3,325 to 1,800. The plan was urged by the Citizens Committee for the Council-manager Plan; it was opposed by the mayor, the *Post-Register* and a so-called Citizens Loyalty Committee.

The Dalles, Oregon, voted on November 4 to retain the council-manager plan.

San Bernardino, California, defeated a proposed manager charter.

The council-manager charter of **Santa Clara, California,** was amended by a vote of approximately three to two to make the chief of police and the city clerk elective instead of appointive.

Many Local Issues Passed Upon by Voters

Numerous charter amendments or local laws were voted on in the municipalities of the nation on November 4.

In two Ohio cities, Cincinnati and Toledo, opponents of public housing proposed charter amendments calling for popular votes on future housing projects. In each city they were defeated by a margin of approximately three to two.

In Cincinnati supporters of housing, led by the Citizens Committee for Low-Rent Housing and Slum Clearance, the Citizens Development Committee and the City Charter Committee, charged that the amendment through carelessness or design in drafting, imperiled private housing as well as public, when developed in connection with projects set up under the recently enacted Ohio Urban Redevelopment Act.

In Toledo labor, religious, civic, welfare, fraternal and veterans organizations marshalled opposition to the amendments through the Committee for the Redevelopment of Toledo.

In two Oregon cities, Portland and Salem, some fourteen measures were voted upon. Portland approved annexation of the Home Water district to the city and permitted the city council to raise its own salaries. It rejected a measure to create a transit and parking commission and a pay increase for 3,000 city employees. Salem approved an increase in firemen's pensions but defeated a measure calling for collective bargaining and compulsory arbitration for police and firemen and also defeated a 40-hour week proposal for policemen.

Denver, Colorado, defeated a proposed charter amendment that would have made changes in police departmental organization with increased salaries.

Detroit, Michigan, approved a four-year term for constables, who had remained with a two-year term after other officials' terms were made four years.[1]

Buffalo, New York, rejected a proposed charter amendment that would have permitted the chief elective officials to succeed themselves. The vote was 130,855 to 36,696.

In Massachusetts, Cambridge voted to retain proportional representation but Quincy, Revere, and Medford voted to repeal it. Newton abolished a form of preferential voting. (See Proportional Representation department of this issue.)

San Francisco, California, adopted a charter amendment limiting the mayor to two successive terms.

Albany, California, defeated a proposed amendment to make the chief of police and the city attorney appointive.

New London, Connecticut, approved nonpartisan city elections with nominations by petition, 4,241 to 786.

[1]See also page 538, this issue.

New Orleans Adopts Home Rule Charter

By a vote of 43,332 to 29,366 on November 4, New Orleans, Louisiana, approved a proposed home rule charter,[1] which makes the mayor the executive head of the city government instead of sharing administrative authority with the seven members of the comission-council, elected from seven unequal districts. Two councilmen, as well as the mayor, will now be elected at large, the others from five new districts.

Hoboken Changes from Commission to Mayor-Council

In Hoboken, New Jersey, a bitter controversy over a proposed new charter establishing a mayor-council form of city government was climaxed November 4 by adoption of the charter by so narrow a vote as to call for a recount, which confirmed the charter victory. The new charter replaces the old commission form. It is reported that supporters of the present mayor may attempt a contest of the so-called Faulkner Act under which the governmental change is authorized and regulated.

Three Rhode Island Cities Drop Bicameral Councils

The cities of Pawtucket, Woonsocket and Central Falls, Rhode Island, which are among the few still equipped with legislative bodies of two chambers, voted on November 4 to adopt new charters providing for single councils. All three charters provide the strong-mayor type, supplanting weak mayor forms. Elections will be on a nonpartisan basis.

In Pawtucket the council will consist of six members elected by wards

(Continued on page 589)

[1]See the REVIEW, May 1952, page 250.

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Three States Study County Government

West Virginia, New Jersey and Florida Issue Reports

MONOGRAPHS have been issued recently concerning county government in three states, West Virginia, New Jersey and Florida.[1] While each of the three pamphlets takes a different approach to the subject, all are informative studies and they present some interesting contrasts in government at the county level in these states.

The report on *County Government and Administration in West Virginia* makes no attempt to detail the functions performed by West Virginia counties but rather, in its own words, seeks to give the reader "a general evaluation of the present structure, organization and mechanics" of county government. The report, in its preface, mentions the well known phrase, "the dark continent of American politics," so often used to describe county government. As the author proceeds with his description of the organization and financial procedures of West Virginia counties, it is apparent he believes that this evaluation is entirely applicable to counties in his state.

The report describes the nine elective officials as well as the numerous semi-independent boards that splinter the administration of county affairs and that resemble "'little governments' functioning apart from each other, yet loosely connected within a common area of operation to form what is generally called county government."

A portion of the monograph is devoted to discussing the various roles of the sheriff as law enforcement officer, agent of the court, tax collector, county treasurer and several other minor and unrelated responsibilities. A large section of the report discusses county budgeting, assessment and other fiscal procedures. There is an interesting section devoted to West Virginia's constitutional provision which virtually prohibits state grants-in-aid to the counties.[2]

The report concludes that there is considerable danger of a continued decline in the importance of county government in the state unless something can be done to correct the lack of legislative powers, the inadequate sources of revenues and, most important in the author's eyes, "the absence of clear lines of responsibility within the county."

New Jersey Report

The organization and functions of New Jersey's 21 counties are described in considerable detail in a pamphlet issued by the Bureau of Government Research at Rutgers University. The

[1] *County Government and Administration in West Virginia,* by Harold J. Shamberger. Bureau for Government Research, West Virginia University, Morgantown, 1952. 82 pp. *County Government in New Jersey,* by James M. Collier. Bureau of Government Research, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1952. 64 pp. *Florida's County Government,* by J. E. Dovell. Civic Information Series, No. 13, Public Administration Clearing Services, University of Florida, Gainesville, 1952. 16 pp.

[2] See "Court Outlaws State Aid," by James E. Larson, the REVIEW, April 1950, page 182.

report deals with the organization of county government generally and in addition contains a lengthy chapter on judicial organization and administration. It discusses each function performed by counties including consideration of health, welfare, highway, education and recreation activities. The section on finance presents an especially interesting picture of state control of county finance.

Comparison reveals a considerable contrast between New Jersey, with its system of grants-in-aid, and West Virginia, where such grants are prohibited by the constitution. Further, New Jersey, through its Division of Local Government, exercises considerable control over county financial activities, while in West Virginia there seems to be a minimum of such control.

This report presents only a minimum of evaluation of the existing system, generally confining itself to descriptive material. In this feature it is quite different from the report on West Virginia's counties.

The third report under review is a brief pamphlet on county government in Florida issued by the Public Administration Clearing Services of the University of Florida. This study confines itself to a brief, over-all discussion of problems such as the election of many county officers, the outmoded organization of counties and the fee system of compensation which apparently is still widely prevalent in Florida's county governments.

The report suggests the need for reorganization of county government if it is adequately to perform local governmental functions for its residents. There is a description of the principles of county manager government as well as an account of the success the manager form has experienced in counties outside Florida.

The report, in closing, reprints and discusses the proposed county home rule amendment, rejected by the voters on November 4, 232,741 to 175,117.

County Issues Defeated in Maryland Counties

County issues in both Montgomery and Prince George's Counties, Maryland, met with defeat in the November elections. Montgomery presented two questions to the voters. Removal of the $12,000 salary limit on the manager's salary was defeated by a vote of 17,141 for to 22,030 against. The proposal to increase councilmanic salaries from $1,800 to $3,000 was defeated by a vote of 18,607 to 19,302.

In Prince George's County, the question of electing a home rule charter board was answered in the negative by a vote of 14,896 for to 22,853 against. Among the candidates for the charter board, most votes were garnered by those nominated by the county board, namely, those opposed to the home rule proposals.

Arlington County Votes to Strengthen Manager Plan

The voters of Arlington County, Virginia, approved two referendum measures at the November election that appreciably strengthen the operation of the manager plan. By a vote of 19,024 to 11,069, they approved a change that will permit the manager to be appointed for an indefinite term rather than for one year with automatic renewal. By a vote of 18,597 to 11,162, they approved giving the manager power to appoint department heads. At present, all department heads except police are appointed by the county board.

The voters rejected a proposal to incorporate as a city by a vote of 3,540 in favor to 27,523 against.

The results on all three issues coincided with the recommendations of the Arlington County Citizens Study Commission. On the incorporation question, the commission had utilized three reports. *The Effect of Incorporation on Arlington's Finances* was prepared by the county manager's office and *Report of the Effects of the Incorporation of Arlington County, Virginia, as a City of the First Class* was prepared by the University of Virginia's Bureau of Public Administration. Based on the factual information contained in them, the commission made its recommendations in a report entitled *Report on the Incorporation of Arlington under the 1946 Charter.*

Allegheny County Metropolitan Study Attacked

An officer of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, has addressed an open letter to the residents of the county's 129 municipalities warning them that a metropolitan plan might deprive small municipalities of "the right of self-government and home rule." He stated, "Such a program, if carried out, will concentrate all authority in a centralized government with unlimited powers and regiment and regulate the citizens in their daily lives. Our forefathers feared this kind of government because they knew it would destroy the freedom of the individual.

"Having twice been defeated by a vote of the people, those supporters of the metropolitan plan are active again to apply legislative powers through politicians instead of by the vote of the people in their respective municipalities."

The letter constituted a direct attack on the fourteen-member Metropolitan Study Commission recently appointed by Governor Fine, which was asserted to be the latest attempt by supporters of the Metropolitan Plan to secure adoption of their program.[1]

West Virginia County Approves Voting Machines

At the November 4 election, McDowell County, West Virginia, gave popular approval to the use of voting machines. This raises to four the number of counties approving the machines.

County Prohibits Weather Control

Jackson County, Oregon, has passed a measure to prohibit weather control and cloud modification except by state or federal authorities.

Kansas Counties Pass on Local Questions

In Kansas, three counties submitted local issues to their voters in the recent general election. Trego County rejected the county road unit system by a vote of 1,205 to 973, thus leaving the number of counties operating under such a system at 52. Johnson County approved establishment of a county library, thus raising the number of counties with such systems to ten. Topeka and the school district embracing the city jointly voted to establish a system of public recreation.

King County Manager Proposal Meets Defeat

The proposed new charter for King County, Washington, providing the council-manager plan, was defeated at the November election by a two-to-one vote, 158,915 to 82,946. The Municipal League of Seattle and King County, a sponsor of the charter, however, has vowed to continue its efforts. The

[1]See REVIEW, October 1952, page 462; July 1952, page 359.

president of the league, Ben B. Ehrlichman, states:

"The charter fight brought before the people the good and weak features of King County government. This is constructive. The Municipal League will continue its efforts for a sound home rule charter." The League of Women Voters also supported the charter, but it was opposed by incumbent court house officials, both political party organizations and the several labor groups.

Georgia Voters Approve County Amendments

The voters of Georgia approved a long list of state constitutional amendments[1] in the recent general elections. The questions having specific applicability to counties are these:

No. 14 authorizes the General Assembly to provide by law for the method of selecting a tax commissioner for Fulton County as well as a chief deputy who would succeed in case of a vacancy in the commissioner's office.

No. 18 authorizes the General Assembly to set up machinery for consolidation of the tax receiving and collecting function of the city of Atlanta and Fulton County, enabling citizens to make their city and county tax returns and payments at one place.

No. 20 provides for a joint county and and city board of assessors in counties containing a city of 300,000 population or more. The assessment of property for tax purposes would be conducted by one board instead of two and an agency would be created to review and revise the assessments.

No. 39 requires the city of Atlanta to assume its share of the bonded indebtedness of Fulton County schools which were annexed under the so-called "Plan of Improvement."

No. 40 was designed to authorize the General Assembly to regulate functions and services of Fulton County by general, special or local laws—changes that formerly required a constitutional amendment with ratification by the electorate. The amendment specifically mentions services such as health and sanitation, police protection, fire protection and prevention, parks, garbage, sewerage, drainage and water.

No. 26 authorizes a joint health board for the city of Augusta and Richmond County.

No. 36 authorizes Augusta and Richmond County to enter into contracts with each other and with individuals, private firms, corporations and the Augusta-Richmond County Building Authority for use of buildings and related facilities.

No. 30 authorizes the General Assembly to pass a special act or acts to merge the school system of Cochran with the Bleckley County school district into a single school district. It also provides for a seven-member board of education to be elected by the grand jury and for the appointment of a county school superintendent by the board.

No. 32 provides for a merger of the school system of Griffin with that of Spalding County into one system and for election of a Griffin-Spalding County Board of Education. The first board, however, would be appointed by the city council and county commissioners.

No. 45 creates the Savannah District Authority, a state corporation embracing Savannah and Chatham County, for the purpose of developing industrial growth and expansion in the area.

Other constitutional amendments provide for the division of certain counties into specific numbers of school districts.

[1]See also page 561, this issue.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Washington State Pioneers in Reporting

Its 'Budget in Brief' Sets a High Standard

THE reporting by states of their over-all activities has been perhaps the least successful in the field of state-local public reporting, despite some highly intelligent efforts to prepare reports which would be brief, readable and informative. Over the last several years, there have been some excellent pamphlet or folder reports, but they have shared one basic defect—in direct proportion as they aroused the reader's interest they failed to amplify his information. Brevity, in other words, presented obstacles as formidable as those inherent in massive statistical tables or dull, unperceptive text.

The state of Washington, faced with mounting demands from its citizens for both facts and figures about the state's rising expenditures and explanations of the cause, boldly determined to issue a popular report long enough to do the job it was intended to do. The result, half a year in preparation, is an attractively printed, well illustrated report of some 96 pages which combines the best current practice in graphic presentation with a well written narrative which not only explains what has happened to the state's finances but also why it happened.[1]

Conceived as a "budget in brief" to supplement the two-volume biennial budget enacted by the legislature, the report was prepared by State Budget Director E. D. Brabrook at the direction of Governor Arthur B. Langlie. Governor Langlie, in January 1952, directed preparation of a report "on the whole taxing and spending problem of [our] state. That report should outline what services the state renders its citizens, how much they cost and how the money is obtained for them. It also should demonstrate how much the citizens of other states spend for the same services. . . . The report should assist our citizens to judge whether they are getting a fair return on their money; to decide whether they want some services expanded, curtailed or eliminated."

The Washington report comprises three main sections. The first, some sixteen pages, provides a historical summary of state expenditures for 1940-52, inclusive, with comparisons with five other western states—Oregon, California, Idaho, Montana and Colorado—and the United States. The device chosen for both interyear and interstate comparisons has been to express both revenues and expenditures as a percentage of personal income. The index data are supplemented where appropriate with other measures, including a summary in dollars of state income, expenditures and year-end general fund balances from 1940 and summary statements of major revenues and expenditures in fiscal 1952 (the year ended June 30).

The accompanying explanatory text avoids the pitfalls of oversimplification and provides a readable, clear and concise summary of the way the state's rapid growth, war and postwar problems, inflation and other factors have influenced the trend. A one-page summary describing the principal state taxes is included.

[1] *Your Dollar's Worth of State Government.* Office of the Director of Budget, State of Washington. Olympia, 1952.

The second section, extending from page 17 through page 80 of the report, describes in summary form the activities and services which the state provides. This section not only hits the high spots of departmental, bureau or agency work but also provides the necessary historical perspective to show how the present work load evolved and, where pertinent, indicates how the state program is tied in with the functions of local governmental units.

In fact, the entire report is imbued with an awareness of state-local relationships and, where appropriate, the implication of a problem at each level of government affected is discussed, notably in the case of education and welfare functions.

The report concludes with fourteen pages of statistical tables, covering both the economic and financial trends of the last twelve years, with some of the data running back to 1930. Index numbers are generously used to simplify analysis by the reader, as are other ratios. Many readers may skip the final presentation; but it is there for those citizens—believed by this writer to be more numerous than the "popularizers" would have us think—who are not afraid of figures, especially when the figures are put to apt use.

The report is not intended to take the place of the usual departmental reports issued annually or biennially, nor to supplant the state budget document or the annual financial reports. It is "popular" only in the sense that it is nontechnical. It assumes that Washington citizens have progressed through the Washington school system, or its equivalent, know how to read and understand plain English, can assimilate figures of more than three digits, and have retained at least the basic facts communicated to them in high school civics classes. It is the first "popular" report that has come to the attention of this column which did not give the impression it was written either as a "throw away" for enclosure with a tax bill or for an audience of ten-year-olds.

Washington's governor and budget director were not the first state officials to feel the need for constructive popular reporting of state finances and activities, nor the first to tackle that admittedly formidable job, but they are the first to produce something which recognizably provides a standard for others to emulate. If the reader is dubious, he may see for himself by requesting a copy from the Office of the Director of Budget, Legislative Building, Olympia, Washington.

When Is a Budget Not a Budget?

From the foregoing note the reader will have gathered that this corner is not entirely sympathetic with everything that comes off the production line from the factory of those who would "simplify" or "popularize" local governmental reporting. An excellent example of the pitfalls awaiting those who unjudiciously "popularize" public financial documents comes to hand from a small New England community. Described by its authors as a budget departing "from the traditional form" it could be more accurately described as a regression to the early attempts at budgeting, thinly disguised with "performance budget" veneer.

Briefly, this document consists of a series of captions identifying each town department, office or activity, with a lump sum appropriation in dollars set opposite and underneath a sentence of two to half a dozen lines describing the purpose for which the money is to be spent. Accompanying this is a similar recapitulation of revenue, consisting in all of five items and the total,

and a shorter but similarly set up presentation for the water and sewer department.

As a summary, this is interesting and, to a point, informative but it is not a budget in the accepted meaning of that term in standard municipal practice in the United States today.

Moreover, it obviously is not the actual budget which the town administrators prepared when they drew up the fiscal plan for the year, and it probably is not the budget which the legislative body considered and discussed prior to adoption of the budget document above described. For the textual comment shows clearly that the *plan* was made in detail. Why, therefore, are not the citizens to be as fully informed as to what those details are, and the administrators bound in the execution of the budget to adhere to their detailed plans unless expressly authorized to depart from such plans?

In this so-called budget the citizen will seek in vain for information on how much his government plans to spend on personal services in the coming year, how much on materials and supplies, how much for office overhead and how much for contractual services. Neither can he find out how much was appropriated last year nor how much expended in the last completed prior fiscal period. True, he doesn't have to trouble himself trying to understand a lot of figures, but short of a trip to the town hall he won't be able either to tell whether this appropriation is higher, lower or the same as last year's, whether salaries have been raised or lowered, whether his town is employing more or fewer workers, etc., etc.

The National Municipal League's *Model Budget Law* did not provide for appropriations and revenues to be set forth in reasonable detail merely in order to provide more work for the printers, nor recommend columnar comparisons of prior year expenditures merely to confound the citizen with more statistics. All experience has shown that the public purse strings are let loose when the plan for spending the public money is vague or indefinite.

If "performance" budgeting is to mean vague, indefinite, lump-sum appropriations, the sooner its proponents say so the better, for in most communities citizens will wish to think twice before they relinquish their control over local expenditures by oversimplifying budgets to the extent that they are merely writing a blank check for the governing body to spend pretty much as it pleases.

Jersey Voters Approve Large Interest Savings

Voters of New Jersey went to the polls November 4 and took the advice of fiscal experts to save themselves an estimated $80,000,000 by pledging their credit to a bond issue they had previously approved without that pledge. Briefly, they made the $285,000,000 Garden State Parkway bond issue, previously authorized as revenue bonds payable solely from road tolls, into a general obligation bond issue. As such, it will carry a materially lower interest rate than could be secured by revenue bonds, while the toll highway will lose none of its self-supporting features. The net result is an $80,000,000 savings in costs as estimated by the state's fiscal advisors and consulting engineers.

Other Election Results

Reversing a trend evident since the war, Oklahoma voters disapproved that state's $125,000,000 soldiers' bonus bond issue. Altogether, it appears that about $1,300,000,000 of the $1,-

(Continued on page 580)

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*
(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

P. R. Referenda in Massachusetts Cities

Cambridge Keeps P. R. Three Cities Lose It

CAMBRIDGE, Massachusetts, voted to retain proportional representation by 25,068 votes to 23,330; three other Massachusetts cities, Quincy, Medford and Revere, voted to repeal the P. R. feature of their council-manager charters at the general election on November 4. Repeal won in Quincy by 29,921 to 10,310 votes; in Medford by 16,706 to 11,728, and in Revere by 10,353 to 4,947. At the same time the party under whose rule legislation facilitating repeal of P. R. and forbidding further adoption of P. R. was enacted lost the governorship and control of the legislature.

Governor-elect Christian A. Herter, a member of the outgoing 82nd Congress, was speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives when the enabling legislation under which Massachusetts cities adopted charters providing P. R. was passed and personally sponsored the first permissive P. R. law.

Success in Cambridge

In face of the competition of national and state elections for the attention of the electorate, a vigorous campaign was waged for the retention of P. R. in Cambridge. Among the prominent citizens who announced their support of P. R. and opposed the repeal proposal were Mayor Joseph A. DeGuglielmo, who had opposed P. R. when it was adopted in 1940, but who has supported it for many years; ex-Mayor Edward A. Crane; Councillors Chester A. Higley, Hyman Pill and W. Donnison Swan; school committee members Professor Thomas H. D. Mahoney and Mrs. Pearl K. Wise and former city solicitor Richard C. Evarts (another former opponent of P. R.). The Cambridge Committee for Plan E, the Cambridge Civic Association and the League of Women Voters of Cambridge joined in urging support of P. R.

There were 8,224 blank ballots in the Cambridge referendum, perhaps reflecting the confusion arising from the form of the question which was such that a "no" vote was necessary to support P. R. and a "yes" vote was in favor of repeal. Furthermore, some advertisements in favor of repeal were headed by the caption "Keep Plan E" and prominently featured the admonition "Vote Yes."

During the campaign Paul F. Hillery, president of the Cambridge Committee for Plan E, called attention to the effect which repeal would have upon the filling of the vacancy caused by the death of Councillor and former Mayor Francis L. Sennott. Under the present charter the vacancy will be filled by a recount of the ballots cast for Mr. Sennott, whereas repeal would have required two city-wide special elections, a preliminary election and a run-off election, which would have cost the city approximately $15,000 and would have delayed the election of a new councillor. Such special elections would also cost the candidates considerable time and money. Mr. Hillery also pointed out that under the law applicable in case of repeal of P. R. vacancies occurring within six months of the end of the term would

not be filled, leaving the city council subject to the possibilities of tie votes.

In a pre-election statement Mayor DeGuglielmo said:

"The charter as it now stands has worked well for all Cambridge. A change would operate only to disturb the balance of efficiency now admittedly evident in our city.

"The charter guarantees to all citizens effective representation on the council. A change would only operate to endanger the quality of service you obtain from your representative.

"The operation of the charter avoids the necessity of costly campaigns —compare Cambridge with Somerville in municipal elections.

"The charter avoids machine politics."

Defeat in Quincy

Quincy, Medford and Revere had shorter experience with P. R. than Cambridge, dating from 1949. In Quincy P. R. was defended by the Quincy League of Women Voters and by the president of the Quincy Civic Association, but the repeal action was actively urged by Mayor David S. McIntosh.

In September a report on P. R., which had been prepared by a committee of the Quincy Chamber of Commerce, with some consultation of other Quincy civic groups, was released by the chamber. The report was promptly branded as incomplete and misleading by Erwin A. Childerhose, president of the Quincy Civic Association. Before publication the report had been approved by the Quincy Chamber of Commerce but had not been submitted to any of the other groups whose representatives had collaborated in the project.

Mr. Childerhose said in his statement: "The Chamber of Commerce committee which studied the proportional representation form of voting submitted a purportedly factual report. Much pertinent data and information was omitted. Some of the comparative data published is not a true comparison and is grossly unfair to P. R."

Medford Campaign

In Medford, the long dormant civic association was revived to defend P. R. The League of Women Voters worked for its retention. P. R. was vigorously supported by the Medford *Mercury* which, on October 31, carried a first-page editorial urging the voters to support the system. It declared:

"The saving of P. R. is vital and important to the people of Medford. We have to practice and protect democracy at home, in the community, in the neighborhood, if we hope to do it on the higher levels. That can best be done in the specific test confronting us Tuesday—by voting "no" on Question Two.

"No element in our city—wherever it lives, regardless of church, color, national origin or political persuasion —can duck the job of saving P. R. because P. R. serves every element and spells the full flowering of democratic representation."

No campaign for the retention of P. R. was conducted in Revere.

The Citizens Plan "E" Association of Worcester assisted the Cambridge Civic Association and pro-P. R. groups in other cities with suggestions for campaigning, making available its film strip on the subject of P. R.

Majority Vote Causes "Landslide" in Greece

In the election on November 16, following the abolition of the remnants of P. R. in Greece,[1] the Greek Rally party, led by Field Marshal Alexander Papagos, obtained 80.3 per

[1]See the REVIEW, November 1952, page 514.

GREEK ELECTIONS, NOVEMBER 16, 1952

Party	Percentage of Votes	Gain or Loss	Percentage of Seats	Gain or Loss
Greek Rally	51.7	+15.1	80.3	+36.1
Center and Liberal	36.3	— 6.2	19.3	—31.4
Democratic Left	12.0	+ 1.5	0.3	— 3.6
Others*	—	—10.3	—	— 1.2

*The Populist party, which cast 6.7 per cent of the votes and obtained two seats in 1951, was a remnant of an earlier large conservative party whose following appears to have been absorbed by the Greek Rally. Two smaller parties also contested the 1951 election; one obtained a single seat while the other obtained none.

cent of the parliamentary seats, although it cast but 51.7 per cent of the popular vote. The outgoing coalition of the Center and Liberal parties, led by General Nicholas Plastiras, polled 36.3 per cent of the total vote but obtained just under 20 per cent of the seats. One of the 300 seats went to the Communist-endorsed "Union of the Democratic Left," which polled 12 per cent of the nation-wide total of votes.

Possibly the proportion of the popular vote would have been different if the opponents of the Greek Rally, who framed the recent electoral law, had not denied the franchise to members of the armed forces and to women. The total vote was only 1,200,000, some 500,000 less than in September 1951.

The results in terms of percentages, based on a report by the Associated Press covering 3,867 of the 3,937 precincts, are given in the accompanying table, showing gains or losses compared with the 1951 election. The percentages of seats for each party may be converted into approximately the number of seats they secured by tripling the percentage, since there are now 300 members of parliament in all. There were formerly 258.

Puerto Rico Provides Minority Representation

The somewhat complicated provisions for minority representation provided in the Puerto Rican constitution[1] provided 26 of the 96 seats in the Puerto Rican legislature for the opposition party when Governor Louis Muñoz Marín and the Popular party scored a sweeping victory November 4. Governor Muñoz obtained 65 per cent of the 658,700 votes cast and led the poll in every town of the island commonwealth.

TAXATION AND FINANCE

(Continued from page 577)

400,000,000 state and local bond issues submitted were approved, but returns this year on state and local propositions have been slow, the reporting agencies evidently having exhausted themselves with their efforts to report on the national presidential candidates.

The principle of weight-distance taxes on heavy trucks was upheld in Oregon, where voters turned down a proposed prohibition of such taxes sponsored by the trucking industry and instead approved a referendum confirming a 1952 legislative act increasing such taxes. Also approved was a limitation of 6 per cent on state property taxes. A proposed cigarette tax wes defeated.

Oklahoma defeated a proposed sales tax, while Arkansas voters disapproved a proposal to levy a property tax of 1 per cent to promote new industry.

[1]See the REVIEW, April 1952, page 209.

Citizen Action . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Colorado Springs Citizens Organize

New Group Will Support Candidates for Council

ONE reason for the continuance of good government in Colorado Springs, where the council-manager plan has been in effect since 1921, is the interest the citizens have taken in local government. With the growth of the city, however, and with many new residents unfamiliar with the city's form of government, the need for a civic organization, patterned after such successful groups as the Cincinnati City Charter Committee, Richmond Civic Association, Worcester Plan "E" Association and others, has been apparent.

The Colorado Springs Charter Association, with its objective "to maintain an informed, alert and participating citizenry, pledged to support of the council-manager form of local government and to election and support of councilmen best qualified to perform the duties of their important public trust," was founded this fall. It has already enrolled over 500 members and has set a goal of at least 1,500 for the near future. Dues are one dollar a year.

The first public meeting of the group was held September 25 with over two hundred in attendance. Allen H. Seed, Jr., director of field services of the National Municipal League, addressed the meeting on "Good Government Begins at the Local Level."

The organization will function under the guidance of a biennially elected executive board of fifteen members. Prior to city elections a candidates committee of seven will select candidates which the association will support for local office and a campaign committee will work for their election.

Planning Councils Continue Activities

"The Greater Dallas Planning Council, a citizens' organization to promote the welfare of every Dallas citizen, is dedicated to a program of providing aid in the building of a better Dallas," says the preface to President Paul Carrington's report for 1951. This report, comprising some twenty pages, lists the names of officers and members as well as committee members. It discusses the council's activities on the master plan for Dallas and Dallas County, the city and county budget, indebtedness, describes its studies in the field of governmental research and cooperation with other organizations.

The *Regional Reporter* of the Metropolitan Area Regional Planning Commission is encouraging the establishment of development area councils "to help local communities face their growth and readjustment problems in company with others instead of alone." "These councils," says the commission, "are proving of real value to villages, townships and cities."

In working toward a solution of the planning problems of its city's downtown area, the Central Atlanta Improvement Association is striving for "completion of expressways, new streets, more off-street parking, better transit service at same or lower rate, more downtown office buildings and hotels, adequate city planning with downtown emphasis, breaking slum rings, physical improvement of buildings, sidewalks, show windows," etc. An eight-page report of activities of the association has recently been is-

sued by its new executive director, George Goodwin.

Planning Points, prepared by the Institute of Community Development of the University of Oklahoma, is the name of a series of leaflets "designed for people who are concerned with community development." The series is printed in black with numerous attractive illustrations in a different color for each number. Topics discussed include major thoroughfares, zoning, recreation, capital improvement and related matters. The institute has also published *Oklahoma County No Place for Totem Pole Development* (eight pages and well illustrated).

The Citizens Development Committee of Cincinnati heard Arthur B. Van Buskirk, president of the Allegheny Conference on Community Development, describe the progress Pittsburgh and Allegheny County have made in smoke abatement—67 per cent of the city's smoke has been eliminated—and in its vast highway, park and building projects. Mr. Van Buskirk also described some of his city's cultural advances. The address is reproduced in the October *Bulletin* of the Cincinnati committee.

Education for Citizenship in the Schools

Boston University announces that it will use its gift of $12,000 from the Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation of Pittsburgh, as provided by the purpose of the foundation, "to aid the training of college students for the political responsibilities of American citizenship." Dean Chester M. Alter, of the university's graduate school, said that "grass roots training in personal responsibilities for active participation in government and politics of Boston University students, women as well as men, will be the purpose of the Boston University program."

Students in nearly seven hundred high schools throughout the nation participated in pre-election activities as part of the special laboratory methods of training sponsored experimentally by the Citizenship Education Project of Teachers College, Columbia University. The program is under way in some 400 cities and affects 28,000 students and 800 teachers. Students have worked in campaigns to get out the vote and have studied election machinery. Some have attended state political conventions, interviewed candidates for office and set up nonpartisan information services. The project operates under a large grant from the Carnegie Foundation.

The Civic Education Project of Cambridge, Massachusetts, has made available a number of new pamphlets in its "Living for Democracy Series," for classroom use: *They Made a Nation*—"How the Founding Fathers went about their great task . . . and what came out of it for us to have and to hold"; *It Has Been Done*—"When leaders speak with courage and citizens wake up, there's no community in America that can't be made a better place to live in. The fight may sometimes be both long and tough, but it's worth what it takes"; *Bread and Butter Plus*—"Here's the story of what high school students did 'beyond the line of duty'"; *Who Says So?*—"How a group of senior high school students learned about public opinion and used it"; *Why Don't They Think!*—"It may be easier to act on impulse or a hunch, but does it pay off?"; *Capitalism Way of Freedom*—"In our economic life, the way of capitalism is the free way. Take a look at what it has done for us. Take a look at its problems too. Can we make it work still better?"; *These Americans*—"Dad, Mother and the children talk it over: '. . . one nation

indivisible,' united and made worthy to be great by many people out of many lands."

The pamphlets are each 48 to 56 pages, with large attractive type and numerous illustrations.

Robert E. Merriam, rising young politician and alderman from Chicago's fifth ward, is author of two interesting pamphlets for young people. One, *Politics for Boys and Girls,* a junior pamphlet, describes government, politics, political parties, candidates, campaigns, elections, etc. The other, *Understanding Politics,* co-authored by John W. Bethea of Public Administration Clearing House, covers similar ground but is addressed to the more mature student. Both have been published by Science Research Associates, 57 West Grand Avenue, Chicago 10, at 40 cents each.

Question Box

A "Citizens Question Box" is being conducted by the Brockton (Massachusetts) Taxpayers Association. Published twice a month in *Your Tax Facts* are questions submitted by the voters —identified by initials only—with the answers of the association. Questions run from "How does Brockton compare with other cities on police salaries?" to "Can our city council submit questions to voters at election time?"

Citizens Report

The *Annual Report 1951* of the Civic Advisory Council of Toronto, presented to Mayor Allan A. Lamport and members of the city board of control and city council, describes the 1951 work of the group and its first annual conference on local government. The council held its second conference, on "Your City and You," in March of this year. Discussed were the tax dollar, health and welfare services, civic responsibility, organized labor, adult education and other pertinent matters.

The Citizens' Civic Association, Inc., and Citizens' Council, of Fort Wayne, Indiana, have issued a 21-page *Report of Operations 1951-1952.* The two groups are closely integrated through interlocking boards of directors and a joint operational staff. According to the report, "the association sponsors the council, finances its activities and collaborates with it in fostering a program of citizen education in community affairs. The process of citizen education is carried on by fact-finding committees on which public officials, professional engineers and prominent citizens, qualified by knowledge and interest, serve as members." Affiliated with the council are 25 neighborhood community associations, three township associations, three county-wide organizations and seventeen overlapping citizen groups including the Citizens' Civic Association.

The 49th Annual Progress Report (1951) of the Commonwealth Club of California (320 pages) lists all its 7,000-plus members. Organized in 1904 with 60 members, the club has grown steadily, showing losses only during the depression years. During the year, 372 section meetings were held with an attendance of 6,910. The club holds Friday luncheons with speakers covering many subjects. During the year members were polled on numerous occasions on questions of public interest.

"We report progress on the promised 1952 program," says the Taxpayers' Federation of Illinois in a twelve-page middle-of-the-year report. The brochure covers the work of the federation's various committees — on state government reorganization, personnel administration, public employee pension problem, municipal problems, finance, schools and other activities.

Members Get Questionnaire

The Citizens League of Greater Minneapolis compiled and mailed to all its members a questionnaire designed to give the organization a picture of their activities and interests. In addition to the usual name, address and telephone number for home and business, members were asked their special training and experience, what organizations they belong to, what committees they would like to serve on, projects of interest.

On the Air

Local radio stations were so impressed with the listener response to "The People Act" series of broadcasts that 175 of them in both the U. S. and Canada are rebroadcasting the 26 programs. These progams dealt with the ways local communities have solved their own problems — juvenile delinquency, alcoholism, crime, old folks, slum clearance, schools and many others.[1] Records and scripts are in demand also for classroom and adult education use. Those interested in learning more about the availability of material should write "The People Act," 601 Madison Avenue, New York 22.

Citizens Study Committee

A Central Contra Costa (California) Citizens' Committee has been established by the board of directors of the Contra Costa County Taxpayers Association to study problems of the governments of the area. Subcommittees of five citizens have been established in each of five areas within the county. Says *The Spotlight,* news letter of the Taxpayers Association, "It is hoped that the establishment of these citizens committees will give the taxpayers of the central part of the county organizations by which they may more easily study and voice their opinion upon local governmental problems."

Stockholders Report

The 1952 "Stockholders Report" of the League of Women Voters of New York City is a "panorama of our services and accomplishments." Four pages long, it sets forth the past year's activities by attractive illustrations and short, pithy statements. No member should complain she "didn't have time to digest" it—it's predigested already.

From Across the Pacific

In Honolulu Hale We Elect (21 pages, 25 cents) and *In Honolulu Hale They Appoint* (46 pages, 40 cents) are two valuable handbooks from the League of Women Voters of Honolulu. As the titles suggest, the first deals with officials elected by the voters and their departments, the other with appointive officials and their departments. Together they present an excellent picture of the city-county government of Honolulu.

Philadelphia Cleans Up

"The Public Conscience of Philadelphia," the Committee of Seventy terms itself in its sixteen-page pamphlet of the same title. The brochure sketches the history of the committee since its founding in 1904, its membership "limited to 70 persons representative of the best interests of the community," structure, work and accomplishments.

A recent issue of the committee's *Civic Affairs* discusses the all-important question, "What Is Political Patronage?" Its answer: "Patronage is a costly abuse of political power contradicting the principles of representative government which advocate equal opportunity for all who are qualified to compete openly for positions in

[1]See the REVIEW, June 1952, page 317.

government. Patronage gives the inside track to the political favorites sponsored by party leaders." Citing some of the recent accomplishments of local citizens in securing better city government, the bulletin comments that "Philadelphians have proven they do not need political errand boys."

Terre Haute Group Studies Budget

The Citizens Civic Association of Terre Haute, Indiana, via its councilmanic committee, invited interested citizens and city councilmen to attend its discussion of the proposed 1953 city budget. Questions put to the three councilmen who attended the meeting dealt with such matters as street improvements and whether better services would be forthcoming for the increased city taxes proposed. The association compiled a comparison of figures from the 1952 budget and the proposed 1953 budget for the aid of those studying the new proposal.

Home Rule Conference

At its annual meeting in October the Rhode Island Home Rule Association began plans for a second one-day congress on local charter problems, to be held in January. Co-chairmen for the event are Dallas Lore Sharp, Jr., treasurer of the association, and Robert J. M. O'Hare, executive secretary of the Citizens League of Pawtucket. The organization reports that as a result of a home rule amendment adopted by the voters in June 1951, seven communities voted on new charters at the November 4 election.

Study City-County Relations

Interested in securing more efficient government, the Montgomery County (Alabama) League of Women Voters plans to study the advantages and disadvantages of combining some of the functions of the city and county of Montgomery.

***Look* Applauds**

For having "ignored the local political machine and brought efficiency and honesty to Chicago's formerly scandal-ridden sanitary district," *Look* magazine "applauds" Anthony A. Olis, the sanitary district's head for the past two years, in its issue of October 21. In 1951 Mr. Olis cut his district's budget by $6,954,000 and the 1952 budget by an additional $426,000. The number of politically-appointed employees has been trimmed from 1,091 to 368.

Strictly Personal

Harland C. Stockwell, executive secretary of the Civic Federation of Chicago, addressed his organization's annual membership meeting this fall, speaking on "Confessions of a Reformer: Twenty-five Years on the Chicago Civic Front."

The board of directors of the Citizens League of Greater Minneapolis has unanimously elected Leslie C. Park, Minneapolis businessman and first vice-president of the league since its organization a year ago, as its new president.

VIGILANCE—PRICE OF SUCCESS

(Continued from page 560)

prayers go with you as yours should go with them. And lest you get a little stuffy thinking how good you are to be doing your civic best, I suggest you recall that you are not asked to shed your blood but only at worst to lose an occasional night's sleep or allow a small draft on your pocketbook, and that if you do these things you can hold your heads high with pride in your city.

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

New Industries Pose City Problems

Expanding Communities Must Plan Growth Carefully

PROBLEMS of plant location perennially concern industry, and there is already an extensive literature on this subject. Less frequently is there a discussion of what a community should look for in new industries. Both facets of this problem have been discussed in several recent publications from the south and west, the regions of the United States experiencing most rapid change today.

According to the May, June and July 1952 *Arizona Business and Economic Review,* published by the Bureau of Business Research of the University of Arizona, most private concerns like to build new installations where the local government is "alert, progressive, understanding, clean and businesslike." In its turn, the city or state should pursue a policy of selective solicitation, wooing especially those businesses having "modern management," "promising to turn the peculiarities of a region to advantage," and on good terms with labor.

No doubt the best long range solution to these problems is through community planning involving all the major interests in the community. In addition, broader statewide planning in the same area is needed, because so many of the economic and other questions involved extend beyond city boundaries. Often, indeed, these are regional or national problems beyond the ability of the state to control.

Mississippi's attempt to cope with problems of attracting new industry is described in "Mississippi's BAWI Program," by W. E. Barksdale, *State Government,* July 1952, and *Industrializing Mississippi,* by Raymond F. Wallace, Bureau of Public Administration, University of Mississippi, 1952. According to Wallace, the BAWI (balance agriculture with industry) program "is a significant improvement over the system of industrial subsidy by local chambers of commerce or similar groups"; but BAWI "probably has not attracted any new plants to the state which were not also attracted by several other factors of equal or greater importance."

A central feature of BAWI is the subsidization of new industry through municipal bonds issued under state authorization but paid off from local tax revenues. This type of financial aid to new industry, along with tax concessions, has frequently been criticized as unwise. Indeed, the weight of informed opinion is strongly opposed to it. For example, the May 1952 *Arizona Business and Economic Review,* reports that "community concessions are rarely the major reason for the selection of a plant location. . . . The over-all economies of the location are far more significant than any concession a community could possibly afford to give."

Nonetheless, many states as well as cities continue to offer these special inducements toward plant location. Albert E. Redman, director of industrial development of the Ohio Chamber of Commerce, in an October 1, 1952, *Report of Study on Special Inducements to Influence Plant Location* (mimeographed), has compiled a digest of tax exemptions in the 48 states. What some observers term the "war" between several southern states and the New England states over the intricate

questions of plant relocation is discussed in the March 1, 1952, *Tennessee Industrial Planning Newsletter,* of the Tennessee State Planning Commission; *Connecticut Government,* March 1952, Institute of Public Service, University of Connecticut; and *Public Management,* February 1952, page 40. The Portland (Oregon) *City Club Bulletin,* May 9, 1952, recommends that the Portland charter be amended to give the city council power to spend money "to promote industrial growth."

Cities and states, in their haste to attract new industries and to benefit from the expansion of the national economy, often fail to see that they may be inviting detrimental as well as beneficial effects. It is true that sound economic development and improved community life benefit both the industry and the state or city. On the other hand, a new industry of any size is bound to have a local impact in terms of utilities, transportation and parking, protective services, education, health and other facilities. A sound community demands a type of balance that cannot always be measured in dollars. An excellent case in point is the small midwestern city which recently succeeded in attracting a new industry whose future employment will be greater than is the present population of the city!

"Communities need make no judgments . . . that the industrialization of a community is a good in itself. A community may discover greater opportunities for development in non-industrial employment or service industries. Indeed, communities may evaluate prospective enterprises, just as industrialists may rate communities, in order to determine how suitable a particular enterprise would be for the development of the community." *Local Government Services and Industrial Development in the Southeast*—a joint statement by the seven southern university bureaus of public administration and the Tennessee Valley Authority Division of Regional Studies, University, Alabama, 1952.

GUTHRIE S. BIRKHEAD

Bureau Reports

59th Annual Report. Fiscal Year Ended September 30, 1952. Chicago, Civic Federation, October 1952. 15 pp.

Nineteenth Annual Report. New Haven, Taxpayers Research Council, June 1952. 6 pp.

Annual Report for the Years: 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952. New Orleans, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1952. 16 pp.

Strictly Personal

Miss Inez A. Applebee, one of the nation's most experienced students of municipal finance, retired from public service in October. Miss Applebee had worked since 1913 in the Governments Division of the Census Bureau, where she engaged in compiling and analyzing financial statistics of local and state governments. Three years ago she received the meritorious service award of the Department of Commerce in recognition of her "sustained outstanding performance of duties."

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Administrative Law

Papers on Florida Administrative Law. Edited by Ernest R. Bartley. Gainesville, University of Florida, Public Administration Clearing Service, 1952. 95 pp. $1.50.

Assessment

Property Assessment. Separation of Assessment Organization from Assessment Appeals Procedure Suggested. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* October 20, 1952. 4 pp.

Budgeting

The PFB's (Planning Financing, Budgeting) **of Capital Budgeting.** New York 17, Citizens Budget Commission, October 1952. 17 pp.

County Government

Florida's County Government.[1] By J. E. Dovell. Gainesville, University of Florida, Public Administration Clearing Service, 1952. 16 pp.

Debt

Philadelphia's Net Bonded Debt 1945 to 1951— Estimated for 1952 to 1958 (Exclusive of School Debt). **Municipal Debt of Eleven Large Cities on a Per Capita Basis, 1950.** Philadelphia 7, Citizens' Budget Committee, October 1952. Charts, 1 p. each.

Postwar Debt in Providence. Providence 3, Governmental Research Bureau (bulletin), October 1952. 3 pp.

Responsibility for Capital Borrowing. Toronto 5, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Civic Affairs,* October 7, 1952. 6 pp.

Education

Analysis of the Constitutional Amendment for State Medical Education Board and Scholarship Fund. By William E. Davis, Jr. Houston, Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, October 1952. 27 pp.

50 Trouble Spots. A Research Report on School District Building Problems. Seattle 1, Washington State Taxpayers Association, October 1952. 21 pp.

For Greater Efficiency and Economy in the Business Administration of Baltimore's School System. Baltimore 2, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, October 1952. 5 pp.

Milwaukee Classroom Teachers Request for 1953 Increased Salaries: Tentative Cost $720,000. Milwaukee 2, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* October 11, 1952. 3 pp.

The Problem of Financing Higher Education in Utah. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report,* October 1952. 4 pp.

School Building Program. Work Preceding Opening of New Schools Requires Cooperation of Many Officials. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* October 6, 1952. 6 pp.

Elections and Voting

County Chairmen as Election Forecasters. By William Buchanan and Virginia V. S. Zerega. State College, Mississippi State College, The Social Science Research Center, September 1952. 22 pp.

Industrial Relations

Industrial Relations and Safety in Maryland. Baltimore 1, Maryland Commission on Administrative Organization of the State, 1952. 25 pp.

Legislative Bodies

The Legislative Challenge Remains! By Norman MacDonald. **State's Lawmaking Machine is Rusty.** Boston 8, Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations, *Tax Talk,* September 1952. 1 p. each.

The Presiding Officer and Rules Committee in Legislatures of the United States. By Eugene C. Lee. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, September 1952. 49 pp. $1.00.

Legislative Committees

Legislative Committees in North Carolina. By Henry W. Lewis. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, Institute of Government, *Law and Administration,* 1952. $1.50.

Motor Vehicles

Periodic Inspection of Motor Vehicles. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, July 1952. 27 pp.

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[1]For a review of this publication see page 571, this issue.

Municipal Printing

Printing Shops in the City Government of Philadelphia. Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania Economy League, Philadelphia Committee, July 1952. 32 pp.

Pay-As-You-Go

Pay-As-You-Go. Proposal to Appropriate for Public Works from Current Revenues Is Sound Policy. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* October 27, 1952. 4 pp.

Pensions

Firemen's Pension Fund. Members of City's Fire-Fighting Force Are Protected by Separate Pension System. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* November 3, 1952. 4 pp.

Public Health and Welfare

Public Health and Welfare Administration in Maryland. Baltimore 1, Maryland Commission on Administrative Organization of the State, October 1952. 28 pp.

Strike "Pay Dirt" in Essex County Study of Welfare Operations. Albany, Citizens Public Expenditure Survey, *New York State Taxpayer,* October 1952. 2 pp.

Public Opinion Polls

Analysis of a Student Opinion Poll at Mississippi State College, 1952 Presidential Election. State College, Mississippi State College, Social Science Research Center, October 1952. 8 pp.

Salaries

Private Pay Compared with Milwaukee County's Pay Plan. Milwaukee 2, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* October 18, 1952. 3 pp.

Surveys

Organization of Local Government in the DeWitt Community. A Citizens' Handbook for Local Planning and Action. Syracuse, Governmental Research Bureau, October 1952. 33 pp.

County Tax Rates Climb. By Maxine M. McSweyn. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *The Tax Digest,* October 1952. 7 pp.

How to Improve Your Municipality's Credit Rating. By David M. Wood. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, in cooperation with the Tennessee Municipal League, *Tennessee Town and City,* October 1952. 4 pp.

Local Tax Calendars and Cash Basis Operations. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, August 1952. 36 pp.

Summary Analysis of City of Houston Tax Office Property Tax Assessment and Collection. By William E. Davis, Jr. Houston, Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, October 1, 1952. 15 pp.

Where the Colorado Tax Dollar Goes. Denver, Colorado Public Expenditure Council, *Colorado Taxpayer,* October 1952. 8 pp.

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from page 570)

and three at large. Woonsocket will have a seven-member council elected at large. Central Falls will elect two councilmen from each of five wards. First elections in Pawtucket and Central Falls will be in November 1953; in Woonsocket they will be in April 1953.

The vote in Pawtucket was 23,244 to 3,137; in Woonsocket 15,505 to 1,229; and in Central Falls 5,310 to 1,709.

In the town of East Providence a strong-mayor charter backed by the Democratic party and opposed by the Republicans was defeated, 11,865 to 7,957. It provided for partisan elections.

Books in Review

Appointed Executive Local Government. The California Experience. By John C. Bollens. Los Angeles, Haynes Foundation, 1952. xi, 233 pp. Clothbound, $3.75; paper, $3.00.

This important source book analyzes with rare completeness the facts of California's city and county experiences with appointive executives, whether called city managers or chief administrative officers (CAO). There are 82 city and three county managers in the state and 37 CAO's in cities and ten in counties. Since the end of 1942, 46 have been added to the manager list and 45 to the CAO list which numbered three (Calistoga, San Francisco and Los Angeles County) in 1942. So the two titles are marching forward together.

The CAO has looked from here as a mild rash on the damask cheek of the virgin classic council-manager movement. It has not been exhibited in the literature until now. The evidence in this valuable volume seems to be that the definition of a CAO as distinguished from a manager is elusive and variable from city to city, identifiable only by a certain irresoluteness in giving the executive the usual authority to select department heads, initiate budget requests and stand off meddling in administration by the council.

The *Year Book* of the International City Managers' Association excludes from its "approved" listings ostensible council-manager cities and counties where the manager, by whatever name, is not given power to manage. Los Angeles County, for instance, is not counted because its CAO does not, by charter power, appoint department heads, although in practice since 1938 the county board has always accepted the CAO's first choice from the civil service eligible list and has supported his authority over the huge payroll of the county. But the association has found that some of the other CAO's are legally strong enough to be listed as "approved," running up the California city and county manager list to 96, although some of them are called CAO's.

The association works without a written definition of city manager and the National Municipal League accepts its count rather than have conflicting lists in circulation. Perhaps, if the title "chief administrative officer" had not come into existence in the city-county of San Francisco in 1931 and Los Angeles County in 1938, we would have simply seen in California, as elsewhere, an added unlisted array of deputy mayors and managers with substandard powers.

This volume provides a complete analytical basis for California, the only state where the CAO title is used, but shows that CAO cannot be defined as a clear and different uniform new concept. It does not denote a rival plan, for my interpretation of this evidence is that a CAO is a manager whose logical authority is insecure, charterwise. But the power of any council to fire may make a given manager's powers, no matter how well defined in the charter, more precarious at times than those of a CAO in the next community who enjoys comfortable relationships.

Other illuminating chapters relate to the vagaries of campaigns for adoption, the rather short average tenures of the California executives, the advance of eleven cities from CAO to manager, the vivid irritated dramas of self-government in some places, and the cases of reversions to older plans in the early years. Wisely omitted are the soon-outdated anecdotes of managerial accomplishments and clean-ups, but, disappointingly, there is no at-

tempt to elaborate on the comment that improvement in the personnel of councils, made feasible by the inherently more attractive conditions of council service, has actually followed installation of appointed executives.

RICHARD S. CHILDS

Let's Go into Politics. By Raymond E. Baldwin. New York City, The Macmillan Company, 1952. 179 pp. $2.75.

Over several recent years, Governor Baldwin lectured on practical politics at Wesleyan University and now has put the material into a charming narrative which follows his own personal experience up through defeat and victories from small beginnings to the top. The reader is led into the initial strangeness of each new job and to a share in the first impressions of each expanding scene. The author's comments are simple and penetrating and the characters are dealt with vividly, swiftly and tolerantly. A rare but somewhat uncritical picture of Connecticut politics! Governor Baldwin has been a solid citizen rather than a crusader. His tale is a first-class case study.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Annexations

Municipal Annexation and Detachments: April 2, 1950 - April 1, 1951. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1952. 22 pp.

Civil Liberties

The Supreme Court and Civil Liberties (revised edition). How Far Has the Court Protected the Bill of Rights? By Osmond K. Fraenkel. New York 10, American Civil Liberties Union, 1952. 90 pp.

Council-Manager Government

The Pros and Cons of the Council-manager Plan. Minneapolis 14, League of Minnesota Municipalities and Municipal Reference Bureau, 1952. 6 pp.

County Government

Arlington County, Virginia, Handbook of County Government Organization. Arlington 1, Office of the County Manager, 1952. Variously paged.

County Government and Administration in West Virginia.[1] By Harold J. Shamberger. Morgantown, University of West Virginia, Bureau for Government Research, 1952. viii, 82 pp.

County Government in New Jersey.[1] By James M. Collier. New Brunswick, New Jersey, Rutgers University Press, 1952. 64 pp. 85 cents.

The Effect of Incorporation on Arlington's Finances. A Report by the Staff of the County Manager for the Advisory Committee on Fiscal Affairs. Arlington 1, Office of the County Manager, 1952. 148 pp.

Report of the Effects of the Incorporation of Arlington County, Virginia, as a City of the First Class. By Bureau of Public Administration, University of Virginia. Arlington 1, Office of the County Manager, 1952. 129 pp.

Report on the Incorporation of Arlington under the 1946 Charter. Arlington, Virginia, Arlington County Citizens Study Commission, 1952. 109 pp.

Democracy

Wellsprings of Democracy. Guidance for Local Societies. By John M. Brewer. New York, Philosophical Library, 1952. xii, 232 pp. $4.50.

Federal Government

Organization of Federal Executive Departments and Agencies. Senate Action on Hoover Commission Re-

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[1]For a review of these publications see page 571, this issue.

ports. Reports of the Committee on Governmental Operations. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1952. 26 and 96 pages respectively.

Juvenile Delinquency

A Description of the Special Juvenile Delinquency Project of the Children's Bureau. Some Facts About Juvenile Delinquency. Suggested Projects for the Prevention and Treatment of Delinquency. Summary of Proceedings Conference on Control of Juvenile Delinquency. Washington, D. C., Federal Security Agency, Social Security Administration, Children's Bureau, 1952. 3, 5, 8 and 31 pp. respectively.

Municipal Government

Charter and Election Data on Minnesota Municipalities. Minneapolis 14, Municipal Reference Bureau and League of Minnesota Municipalities, 1952. 4 pp.

Municipal Officials

Directory Tennessee Municipal Officials. Nashville, University of Tennessee, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, 1952. 63 pp.

Role of the Municipal Clerk in the United States and Canada. Chicago 37, National Institute of Municipal Clerks, 1952. 15 pp. $3.

Planning

Education in Town Planning. An International Survey. The Hague (Netherlands), International Federation for Housing and Town Planning, 1952. 139 pp. Price Fl. 5.00.

Recreation

Recreation in California—Directory of Public Recreation Agencies Providing Year-round Services: Comparative Data on Finances and Personnel. Sacramento 14, California Recreation Commission, 1952. 33 and 26 pp. respectively.

Smoke Abatement

Allegheny County Bureau of Smoke Control—Third Annual Report of Activities for the Year Ending May 31, 1952. Pittsburgh, the Bureau, 1952. 70 pp.

State Government

Essentials of Missouri Government (second edition). By Robert F. Karsch. Columbia, Missouri, Lucas Brothers, 1952. 156 pp. charts, maps.

Taxation and Finance

Federal-State-Local Relations and Tax Coordination. By Alfred E. Driscoll. Address before the Twentieth Anniversary Annual Conference. Washington, D. C., United States Conference of Mayors, 1952. 5 pp.

Federal, State and Local Government Finances for 1951 and Selected Previous Years. Charts prepared for the Governors' Conference, June 1952. Chicago 37, Council of State Governments, 1952. 6 pp.

Large-City Finances in 1951. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1952. 57 pp. 30 cents.

Two Decades of Tax Collections. Variations in State Tax Patterns During Two Decades. Princeton, New Jersey, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* July-August and September 1952 respectively. 50 and 25 cents.

State Tax Collections in 1952. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1952. 10 pp.

Traffic Safety

Here's How Projects Are Used to Further Street and Highway Accident Prevention. From All Over the World Come Traffic Safety Ideas (second edition). Chicago 6, National Association of Automotive Mutual Insurance Companies, 1952. 56 pp. illus.

Operation Safety. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion. Theme for January 1953: **Winter Hazards.** Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1952. Variously paged.

lex R. Thomas, chairman of the San Antonio Citizens Committee, chats with Rev. Edward Dowling, J., of "The Queen's Work," St. Louis, between sessions. With them is Mrs. Edward G. Conroy, wife f the executive vice president of the San Antonio Research and Planning Council.

Three prominent city managers enjoying the party at La Villita are, left to right, C. A. Harrell of San Antonio, Ray W. Wilson of Phoenix, and L. P. Cookingham of Kansas City. In the rear are, eft to right, Jess Gittinger, executive director, Citizens Regional Planning Council, Kansas City, and E. A. Weishaar, civic secretary, civic department, Kansas City Chamber of Commerce.

At the speakers' table for the opening luncheon of the National Conference on Government are, left o right, John M. Kernochan, director, Legislative Drafting Research Fund, Columbia University; Thomas R. Reid, director of civic affairs, Ford Motor Company, who gave the principal address entitled 'Good Government Is Good Business"; and H. L. Bridgman, president, San Antonio Chamber of Commerce, who presided at the luncheon.

More than 100 people crowded into the Oriental Room at the Gunter Hotel to hear the session on Suburbanitis. At the speakers' table are, left to right, Norman N. Gill, director, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, Milwaukee; R. Gordon Kean, Jr., acting parish attorney, East Baton Rouge Parish-City of Baton Rouge; Allen D. Albert, Jr., chairman, Local Government Commission of Fulton County, Atlanta; Winston W. Crouch, University of California, who presided; Leo C. Riethmayer, University of Colorado; Edward G. Conroy, executive vice president, San Antonio Research and Planning Council; David Knepper, University of Houston; and Daniel R. Grant, Vanderbilt University.

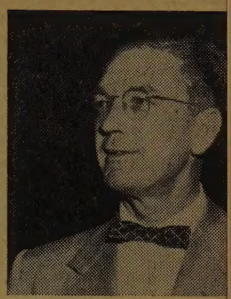
Streamlining State Justice was the subject of one of the most important sessions at the Conference. Speakers were, left to right, A. Cecil Snyder, acting chief justice of the Supreme Court of Puerto Rico; Lynn M. Ewing, president, Missouri Bar Association; William Miller, Princeton Surveys; Glenn R. Winters, secretary, American Judicature Society; Charles I. Francis, chairman, State Bar Committee on Judicial Section of Texas Constitution, who presided; A. J. Thomas, Jr., Southern Methodist University Law School; and Winston Paul, member of 1947 New Jersey Constitutional Convention.

Particularly interested in the session on Women in Public Affairs were, left to right, Mrs. Jack Allensworth of San Antonio, Mrs. Siegel W. Judd of Grand Rapids, Mrs. B. H. Passmore of San Antonio and Mrs. L. H. Lunde of Chicago.

ard E. Haddock
MOND, VA.

Mrs. Siegel W. Judd
GRAND RAPIDS, MICH.

R. H. Givens
MIAMI, FLA.



Mayor Hohen Foster
PHOENIX, ARIZ.

Three Cities Want Conference in '53

Where the National Conference on Government will be held in 1953 is anybody's guess at the moment. However, Miami, Florida, Richmond, Virginia, and Grand Rapids, Michigan, each have high hopes that their city will be chosen.

These municipalities filed formal applications to be host city next year at a meeting prior to the annual dinner of the League Council in San Antonio last month. Extolling the virtues of Miami was R. H. Givens, a member of the Miami City Commission. Mayor Edward E. Haddock of Richmond extended an invitation to the League on behalf of his city, while Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, director of the Grand Rapids Citizens' Action and a member of the League Council, urged the League to come to her city. Richmond hoisted a large banner, "Richmond Next Year," over the speakers' platform at the League's annual dinner.

Looking ahead to 1954, Mayor Hohen Foster of Phoenix, Arizona, invited the League to hold its 60th annual Conference there that year.

This year's National Conference was the first ever held in the southwest. The Conference has been held only once in the far west—at Los Angeles in 1912.

Council Votes to Search for League Building

The National Municipal League is looking for a permanent home in a building of its own.

At its meeting in San Antonio, the Council authorized a committee to find a small building for the League's office with a view to making it a national civic center.

The Council also voted to establish a building fund to which tax-deductible contributions could be made. Purpose of the fund is to provide the means outside the League's budget to obtain, recondition, equip and, if possible, maintain the building.

The idea of a permanent home for the League has been entertained for some time. The continued widespread civic activity throughout the country makes demands on the League for increased services which cannot be met with maximum efficiency without more space, better adapted to the League's special needs. For example, the right building would make the League's unique civic library more available to visiting scholars, journalists, researchers and civic leaders, and provide better facilities for committee meetings and civic seminars and workshops.

The annual dinner of the National Municipal League's Council, held during the National Conferenc on Government at San Antonio. Reading clockwise are Mrs. Maurice H. Noun, Des Moines; Kar Detzer, Leland, Michigan; John E. Bebout, NML; Harold S. Buttenheim, New York; Thomas R. Reid Dearborn, Michigan; Ben B. Ehrlichman, Seattle; John S. Linen, West Orange, New Jersey Charles Edison, West Orange, New Jersey; Mrs. Albert D. Cash, Cincinnati; Alex R. Thomas, Sa Antonio; William Collins, Yonkers, New York; Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids; Alfred Willoughby NML; Henry Bruère, New York; Allen H. Seed, Jr., NML; Richard S. Childs, New York; Lee M Sharrar, Houston; George H. Gallup, Princeton, New Jersey; F. E. Schuchman, Coraopolis, Pennsyl vania; Mark S. Matthews, Greenwich, Connecticut; E. D. Dodd, Toledo; Stanley Gordon, New York Carl H. Pforzheimer, New York; Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., St. Louis; Roscoe C. Martin, Syracuse New York; L. E. Marlowe, Richmond, Virginia.

League Elects New Council Members

Henry Bruère was re-elected president and John S. Linen and George S. Van Schaick vice presidents of the League at the annual membership meeting November 17 in San Antonio.

Eight new members were elected to the Council. They are Mrs. Albert D. Cash, former member of the Cincinnati City Council; E. D. Dodd, director of public relations, Owens-Illinois Glass Company, Toledo; Ewart W. Goodwin, president, Percy H. Goodwin Company, San Diego, California; Melrose Hohngreen, president, Alamo Iron Works, San Antonio, Texas; Frederick L. Bird, Dun and Bradstreet, New York; Mrs. Virgil Loeb, St. Louis; Cecil Morgan, vice president, Esso Standard Oil Company, New York. Their terms will expire in 1955.

Colonel E. W. Palmer, president, Kingsport Press, Kingsport, Tennessee, was elected a regional vice president. Re-elected to the same office were Lester Bates, Columbia, South Carolina; James L. Beebe, Los Angeles; William Collins New York; John B. Gage, Kansas City Missouri; Senator-elect Barry Goldwater, Phoenix; Lloyd Hale, Minneapolis; Arthur E. Johnson, Denver; Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids; John Nuveen, Chicago; Ed. P. Phillips Richmond, Virginia; Charles P. Taft Cincinnati; and Alex R. Thomas, San Antonio.

Re-elected honorary vice presidents were: Harold S. Buttenheim, New York Harry Woodburn Chase, New York Russell Forbes, Washington, D. C. Robert C. Hendrickson, Woodbury, New Jersey; C. E. Merriam, Chicago; Frank H. Morse, New York; Anne M. Mumford, Los Angeles; W. B. Munro, Pasadena; William J. Pape, Waterbury Connecticut; and Henry L. Shattuck Boston.

Ammunition

The publications listed below are indispensable tools for citizen groups seeking better government:

Campaign Pamphlets

Story of the Council-Manager Plan, 36 pages (1952)	$ .20
County Manager Plan, 24 pages (1950)	.20
Forms of Municipal Government—How Have They Worked? 20 pages (1951)	.25
Facts About the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1951)	.05
City Employees and the Manager Plan, 4 pages (1952)	.05
Labor Unions and the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1950)	.05
P. R., 12 pages (1952)	.05

Model Laws

Model Accrual Budget Law, 40 pages (1946)	.75
Model Bond Law, 20 pages (1929)	.50
Model Cash Basis Budget Law, 42 pages (1948)	.75
Model City Charter, 173 pages (1941)	1.50
Model County Manager Charter (New edition in preparation.)	
Model Direct Primary Election System, 48 pages (1951)	1.00
Model Election Administration System, 42 pages (1930)	.75
Model Medico-legal Investigative System, 39 pages (1951)	.50
Model Registration System, by Joseph P. Harris, 73 pages (1939)	1.00
Model State Civil Service Law, 23 pages (1946)	.50
Model State Constitution, 72 pages (1948)	1.00

Other Pamphlets and Books

American County—Patchwork of Boards, 24 pages (1946)	.35
Best Practice Under the Manager Plan, 8 pages (1950)	.15
Citizen Organization for Political Activity: The Cincinnati Plan. 32 pages (1949)	.50
City Growing Pains, 116 pages (1941)	.50
Digest of County Manager Charters and Laws, 70 pages (1951)	2.00
Guide for Charter Commissions, 34 pages (1947)	.50
Manager Plan Abandonments, by Arthur W. Bromage, 36 pages (1949)	.50
Modernizing State Constitutions, 21 pages (1948)	.25
Proportional Representation—Illustrative Election, 8 pages (1951)	.10
Proportional Representation—Key to Democracy, by George H. Hallett, Jr., 177 pages (1940)	.25

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